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ART. I.—PRESSENE'S "MARTYRS AND APOLOGISTS."

THE story of the first three centuries of the Christian era will ever continue to be the most important and most interesting chapter in the history of the race. It was a grand transition period. Old things were passing away, and all things were becoming new. Paganism, like a rotten tree, was hollow at the heart and tottering to its fall. The world, weary with waiting for the healer of its woes, hailed with joy the divine Teacher who brought life and immortality to light. The new and world-agitating ideas of Christianity were every-where renovating society. The old faiths were fading out of the firmament of human thought. The old gods were reeling on their thrones. It was the heroic period of the Christian Church. She was girding herself, like a noble athlete, for the conquest of mankind. She was engaged in deadly struggle with paganism for the possession of the race. On the side of the latter were all the resources of the empire—the victorious legions, the treasures of the East and West, the prestige of power and splendor, a vast hierarchy, an ancient and venerated national religion, and, most potent ally of all, the corruptions and lusts of the evil heart of man. To these Christianity opposed the omnipotence of its divine principles—its fervent love, its sublime virtue, its heroic self-sacrifice—and they proved victorious. In this conflict both evil and good were brought into strongest relief and most striking contrast.

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Persecution was kindled to intensest rage against the new faith; but Christianity nerved itself to suffer with a quietness of spirit all that the wrath of man was able to inflict. Nay, the hour of its sorest trial was that also of its noblest triumph. A moral Hercules even in its infancy, around its cradle were strewn the strangled serpents of heathen superstitions, vain philosophies, and pernicious heresies.

Ever since the revival of learning, this period has been the subject of exhaustive study by successive generations of critical scholars. It has been the battle-ground fought over, inch by inch, by orthodox and skeptical polemics. Its contemporary literature has been the armory which has furnished weapons both for the attack and the defense of the truth. The names of Fabricius, Mosheim, Echard, Bingham, Cave, King, Jortin, Milner, Milman, Neander, Gieseler, Schaff, Killen, Lea, Merivale, Gibbon, Strauss, Baur, Renan, and Lecky, do not exhaust the list of those who have gleaned rich harvests in these oft-reaped fields. Our author will not suffer by comparison with even the chiefest of these great lights of literature; and for perspicuity and elegance of style, skill in grouping, warmth of coloring, and picturesqueness of detail, he is scarce equaled by any of them. He has proved that, treated by the hand of a master, the interest of the subject is not exhausted. The more accurate processes of inquiry employed by modern criticism have dissipated many errors and developed many new truths. The recent discovery of long-lost writings of the period, and the study of its monumental evidences in the Catacombs and elsewhere, assists us to rehabilitate the past, and to comprehend its spirit better than modern writers have hitherto been able.

Dr. De Pressensé possesses in the highest degree the qualities requisite for the noble task he has undertaken. He unites, in unusual wedlock, a calm and philosophical judgment with a brilliant and poetical imagination. Instead, therefore, of the mere dry bones of history, he presents the living form and spirit of the times.

The sparkling grace of the French language, and the sprightly quality of the French intellect, make French historical literature a model of its class. Yet we are haunted by the

fear, when reading the brilliant pages of Lamartine or Renan, or even the graver volumes of Michelet or Guizot, that historical accuracy is sometimes sacrificed to epigrammatic force. This is not the case when reading Pressensé. While characterized by the highest graces of style, he also gives evidence of that profound and accurate scholarship so essential to the investigation of the many difficulties of the subject. Every important statement is fortified by references to the original authorities, or by citations from their text; and we feel that we are walking on the solid ground of historical fact. The entire work sparkles with beautiful and appropriate imagery, like a royal robe with broidery of gems and gold; but the fabric itself is firmly woven, and would still be rich and strong even if stripped of the ornament.

We cannot too highly praise the fidelity and skill with which the fair translator has accomplished her work. It is no easy matter to translate the vivacious pages of Pressensé into terse and idiomatic English without some of the subtle aroma of style escaping in the process; yet this difficult task Miss Harwood has achieved with signal success.

We can give the merest outline of the scope of this volume, which, while the member of a series, yet possesses a completeness and unity in itself. Its first part is occupied with the tragic tale of persecution. The world will never tire of the story of those heroic days of the Church's trial and triumph. Like a grand Homeric battle-scene, to use the figure of Baur,* the conflict between the noble "wrestlers of God" and the hosts of paganism passes before us. But an incomparably loftier moral principle inspires the Christian champions than that of the Greek athletes. The Church, in an age of luxury and self-indulgence, may well revert to those days of fiery trial, and catch inspiration from the faith and zeal and lofty courage, unfaltering even in the agonies of death, of the primitive confessors and witnesses for God. Amid dense moral darkness they held aloft the torch of truth, and handed down from age to age the torn yet triumphant banner of the faith, dyed with their heart's best blood. The noble words in which Tertullian flings down the gage of battle to the pagan foe still thrill the soul like the sound of a clarion: "We say, and

* *Die Epochen der kirchlichen Geschichtsschreibung*, p. 20.

before all men we say, and torn and bleeding under your tortures we cry out, 'We worship God through Christ.' . . . Rend us with your hooks, hang us on crosses, wrap us in flames, behead us with the sword, let loose wild beasts upon us, the very attitude of the Christian praying is a preparation for all punishment. . . . We conquer in dying, and are victorious when subdued. The flames are our victory robe and our triumphal ear. . . . Kill us, torture us, condemn us, grind us to powder. The oftener you mow us down the more we grow. The martyr's blood is the seed of the Church. When we are condemned by you we are acquitted by God."* "You can kill us," says Justin Martyr, "but you cannot harm us."†

In a previous volume Pressensé has recorded the atrocities of the Neronian persecution, when, to use the words of Tacitus, "some of the Christians were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts and worried to death by dogs; some were crucified; and some, wrapped in garments of pitch, were burned as torches to illumine the night."‡ In the present volume he describes the more striking events of martyr history in the second and third centuries. Few of these are of higher dramatic interest than the death of the venerable Ignatius of Antioch. An eager multitude fills the vast Coliseum to see the frail old man, bowed with years of toil and worn with travel, "butchered to make a Roman holiday." The signal is given; the dens are opened; the fierce Numidian lions, famished with fasting, bound upon their prey, and a few fragments of scattered bones are soon all that remains of the martyr Bishop. His desire is fulfilled. "I am the wheat of God," he said, "and I shall be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may become the pure bread of Christ."§

From the crowded amphitheater of Smyrna ascended, as in a chariot of fire, the soul of the apostolic Bishop Polycarp. The arrowy Rhone ran red with martyrs' blood. The names of the venerable Pothinus, of the youthful Blandina and Ponticus, and of the valiant Symphorianus, will be memories of thrilling power to the end of time. At Rome persecution

* *Apologeticus*, cc. 21, 30, 50.

† *Ann.*, xv, 44.

† *Apol.*, i.

§ *Ep. ad Romanos*, § 5.

selected some of its noblest victims. Justin, the Christian philosopher, finding in the Gospels a loftier love than in the teachings of Zeno or Aristotle, of Pythagoras or Plato, became the foremost of the goodly phalanx of apologists and confessors of the faith, and sealed his testimony with his blood.

Still, with intervals of treacherous calm, persecution raged against the Christians; and Paganism, in the death-throes of its mortal agony, wreaked its wrath upon its hapless victims. *Non licet esse vos*—"It is not lawful for you to exist," was the stern edict of extirpation pronounced against them. But like the rosemary and thyme, which the more they are bruised give out the richer perfume, Christianity breathed forth the odors of sanctity which are fragrant in the world to-day. From the martyrs' blood, more prolific than the fabled dragon's teeth, new hosts of Christian heroes rose, contending for the martyrs' starry and unwithering crowns.

Like the trump of jubilee, the edict of toleration pealed through the land. It penetrated the gloomy dungeon, the darksome mine, the catacomb's dim labyrinth; and from their somber depths vast processions of "noble wrestlers of religion" * thronged to the long-forsaken churches with grateful songs of praise to God.

Such lavish waste of life and wanton cruelty as the records of martyrdom narrate seem almost incredible; but the pages of the contemporary historians give too minute and circumstantial accounts of the tortures of which they were eyewitnesses to allow us to adopt the complacent theory of Gibbon, that these sufferings were comparatively few and insignificant. "We ourselves have seen," says Eusebius, "crowds of persons, some beheaded, others burned alive, in a single day, so that the murderous weapons were blunted and broken to pieces, and the executioners, weary with slaughter, were obliged to give over the work of blood." † Men whose only crime was their love of God were scourged with iron wires, or with *plumbatae*, that is, chains laden with bronze balls, till their flesh hung in shreds, and even their bones were broken; they were bound in chains of red-hot iron and roasted over fires so slow that they lingered for hours, or even days, in mortal agony; the

*Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, ix, 1.

† *Ibid.*, viii, 9.

flesh was scraped from the very bone with ragged shells, or lacerated with burning pincers and *ungulæ*, or horrid claws of iron, specimens of which have been found in the catacombs. Plates of red-hot brass and molten metal were applied to the naked body, till it became one indistinguishable wound. Mingled salt and vinegar or unslaked lime were rubbed upon the quivering muscles, torn and bleeding from the rack and scourge. Men were condemned by the score and hundred to labor in the mines with the sinews of one leg severed, one eye scooped out, and the socket seared with a red-hot iron. Chaste matrons and tender virgins were given over—worse fate a thousand-fold than death!—to dens of shame and the gladiators' lust, and subjected to nameless agonies too horrible for words to utter. And all these untold sufferings were endured, often with joy and exultation, for the love of a Divine Master, when a single word, a grain of incense cast upon the heathen altar, would have released the victims from their agonies. No lapse of time, and no recoil from the idolatrous homage paid in after ages to the martyr's relics, should impair in our hearts the profound and rational reverence with which we bend before his tomb.

One of the most remarkable features of the ages of persecution was the enthusiasm for martyrdom that prevailed, at times almost like an epidemic.* Age after age the soldiers of Christ rallied to the conflict, whose highest reward was the gneardon of death. They bound persecution as a wreath about their brows, and exulted in the "glorious infamy" of suffering for their Lord. The brand of shame became the badge of highest honor. Besides the joys of heaven, they won imperishable fame on earth; and the memory of a humble slave was often haloed with a glory surpassing that of a Curtius or Horatius. The meanest hind was ennobled by the accolade of martyrdom to the loftiest peerage of the skies. Impatient to obtain the prize, these candidates for death often pressed with eager

* "Are there not ropes and precipices enough?" said a Roman proconsul to a Christian mob that came clamoring for martyrdom. Many of the Fathers protested against this infatuation. "Who calls me a martyr scourges me," said Ignatius on his way to death. "That name belongs to Christ alone," said the martyrs of Vienne. Tertullian fanned this enthusiasm, but Clement sought to repress it. "They are not martyrs, but suicides," he wrote, "who light their own funeral pyres." By precept and example Cyprian enforced an opposite course.

haste to seize the palm of victory and the martyr's crown. They went to the stake as joyfully as to a marriage-feast; and "their fetters," says Eusebius, "seemed like the golden ornaments of a bride." Though weak in body, they seemed clothed with vicarious strength, and confident that, though "counted as sheep for the slaughter," naught could separate them from the love of Christ. Wrapped in the fiery vest and shroud of flame, they yet exulted in their glorious victory. While the leaden hail fell on the mangled frame, and the eyes filmed with the shadows of death, the spirit was entranced by the vision of the opening heaven, and above the roar of the ribald mob fell sweetly on the inner ear the assurance of eternal life.

This spirit of martyrdom was a new principle in society. It had no classical counterpart. Socrates and Seneca suffered with fortitude, but not with faith. The loftiest pagan philosophy shrinks abashed before the sublimity of Christian hope. This looks beyond the shadows of time and the cares of earth to the grandeur of the infinite and the eternal. The heroic deaths of the believers exhibited a spiritual power mightier than the primal instincts of nature—the love of wife or child, or even of life itself. Like a solemn voice falling on the dull ear of mankind, these holy examples urged the inquiry, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" And that voice awakened an echo in full many a heart; the martyrs made more converts by their deaths than in their lives. "Who that sees our sufferings," says Tertullian, "is not excited to inquiring? Who that inquires does not embrace our faith?" *

The second section of Pressensé's volume treats of the post-apostolic Fathers and Apologists. Comparatively few, even of those who have the ability, have the time or opportunity to read the Fathers in the original. Yet without some acquaintance with their writings it is impossible to understand the spirit of the age in which they lived, the moral atmosphere of the times, and the social environment of that primitive Christianity to which they so largely gave the impress of their own character. There were, indeed, giants in the earth in those days—giants of evil as well as of good—men of renown in wickedness, prodigies of cruelty and vice, and men of

* *Apol.*, 50.

colossal Christian character, who performed undying labors for God and man. The battles for and against the truth were wars of the Titans; and in the massy works they left behind we have evidences of the prowess of the Christian champions. Nowhere can he who is unfamiliar with this noble brotherhood better make their acquaintance than in the vivid portraits and characterizations of this book; and he who is already familiar with them will enjoy with still keener zest the discriminative criticism and analysis of their character given by our author. These portraits are clearly limned, and give the individuality of the person in full relief. They are not blurred and faded copies of each other, nor bloodless specters of superhuman virtue like the Romish Saints, but men of like passions with ourselves, often with a touch of human error or infirmity, which makes us feel their kinship to our souls.

We see Justin Martyr, an earnest seeker after God, a type of the nobler thought of the age in which he lived, turning from school to school, from teacher to teacher, till at the feet of Jesus he found that rest unto his soul which neither the stern, cold doctrines of Zeno, nor the sublime musings of Plato, could impart. Like another Paul, he became a faithful confessor of Jesus; and with apostolic zeal he proclaimed the new-found truth of the Gospel, even unto death. It was a fire in his soul that could not be repressed. "Every man who can bear witness to the truth," he exclaims, "and does it not, will be judged of God." When arraigned before the heathen prefect, he was asked if he expected to ascend to heaven when beheaded. "I know it: beyond all power of doubt, I *know* it," he replied, and went rejoicing to his fate.

The marvelous vari-colored life of Alexandria—a sort of newer Athens or older Paris—a city of blended luxury and learning, folly and philosophy, heathen vice and Christian virtue, is vividly portrayed. We sit at the feet of Clement and Origen, the noble teachers of her Christian schools. With a lofty eclecticism they culled the fairest flowers from the garden of heathen philosophy, and distilled healing simples from its often poisonous fruit. They sifted the golden grains of truth and pearls of thought from the ancient religions of paganism to adorn the brow of Christianity. They recog-

nized the grand conception, so nobly expressed by Milton, that as the Egyptian Typhon hewed in pieces the god Osiris, so the virgin form of Truth has been rent and scattered to the four winds of heaven. Hence, as Isis anxiously searched for the mangled body of Osiris, so the eager seekers after Truth must gather mangled limb by limb wherever they can find them.*

With loving minuteness our author lingers over the character of Origen, whom he styles "one of the greatest theologians and greatest saints the Church has ever possessed." He was the noblest of the Christian Fathers and Apologists. The heroic son of a martyred sire, he fought valiantly, by tongue and pen, the battles of the faith, and won at last the martyr's crown. To the zeal of Paul he united the tenderness of John. His whole life was a perfumed altar-fire of love,† never dimmed by obloquy, nor fanned into flames of hate by opposition or persecution, but glowing brighter and brighter till his frail and emaciated body was consumed.

In striking contrast with this noble magnanimity is the fiery and intolerant zeal of Tertullian, the greatest of the Western Fathers. He beams not with the calm mild light of Hesper on the brow of eve like Origen, but burns like a blazing meteor, presaging wrath to man. The fervid heat of his native African skies seems transfused into his veins. Born in the midst of the corrupt and semi-barbaric civilization of Carthage, and trained in the literary jugglery of the times, he became an adept, at once in Carthaginian vice, and in the florid eloquence of the decaying empire. His energy of character made him as pre-eminent in wicked indulgence as he afterward became in rigorous asceticism. His literary characteristics are thus strikingly described by Pressensé :

His style is, in fact, the exact expression of his soul; it is strong even to hardness; it is strained, incorrect, African, but irresistible. It is poured forth like lava from an inward furnace, kept ever at white heat, and the track of light it leaves is a track of fire too. It abounds in bold and splendid images, but there is nothing gentle or joyous in its brilliancy; it is not the calm brightness of the sun; it is the strange lurid fire which wreathes round the summit of the volcano, and rises in red smoke. The

* "Plea for Unlicensed Printing."

† "Love," he says, over and over, "is an agony, a passion: *caritas est passio.*"

language of Tertullian is full of sharp and abrupt antitheses, like those which characterize his thoughts. . . . In every phrase one might seem to hear the sharp clash of swords that meet and cross, and the spark which dazzles us is struck from the ringing steel. Hence that incomparable eloquence which, in spite of sophisms and exaggerated metaphors, ravishes and rules us still.*

The burning intensity of his convictions often leads Tertullian to excessive vehemence of expression. He does not recognize, like the philosophic Clement or Origen, the germs of goodness in things evil, but overwhelms with vituperation and invective every thing connected with paganism. He exults in the anticipation of the near approach of the day of wrath, which should consume the wicked as stubble; nay, he himself would fain call down fire from heaven to destroy them. This unamiable trait is thus justly characterized by our author:

This joy in the anticipation of the doom of the enemies of Christ is altogether alien to the spirit of the Gospel; that mocking laugh, ringing across the abyss which opens to swallow up the persecutors; this cruel irony over the most fearful woes; all those fiery characters on the page, are evidences of Tertullian's passionate attachment to the cause of Christianity, and also of his intense hatred to every thing opposed to it. . . . Hence the implacable, cutting, sardonic tone of his apologetic writings. He does not, like Justin or Clement of Alexandria, seek to trace in paganism a dim preparation for Christianity. He takes the ax of John the Baptist, and lays it at the root of the tree, with the full intention to cut it down and consume it utterly.†

Yet, conscious of his mental infirmity, he exclaims, "Me miserable, ever sick with hot impatience! I am like the sick who laud the blessings of the health they lack." In his tract on Prayer he breathes out the yearnings of his soul for God. "How daring it is," he exclaims, "to pass one day without praying!" He recognizes the providence of God as numbering even the bristles of the swine, as well as the hairs of his children. He beautifully portrays the conjugal felicity, in prayer and praise and loving fellowship, of the Christian husband and wife; yet even this is tinged with stern asceticism. In violation of the parental instinct of the human soul, he deprecates the "bitter, bitter pleasure of children"‡ on account of the troubles that they bring. He inveighs against all fe-

* Pp. 382-3.

† Pp. 388-9.

‡ Librorum amarissima voluptate. *Ad ux. v.*

male adorning as the funeral pomp of the soul; and especially denounces the wearing the hair of others, "the slough, perhaps, of some guilty wretch now in hell."

His apology for the Christians is rather a haughty defiance of paganism. He returns scorn for scorn, and fiery invective for reproach. But it is especially in controversy with heretics, whose pernicious doctrines, he asserts, destroy the soul as fever the body, that his fierce intolerance is exhibited. In later days he would have been a Torquemada or St. Dominic. He can find no language intense enough to brand the heretic Marcian, against whom his largest treatise is written—"a man," he says, "more savage than the Scythian, more inhuman than the Massagetae, fiercer than the whirlwind, more gloomy than the thunder-cloud, colder than winter, more rugged than Caucasus."* "Tertullian," says Pressensé, "is like a turbid mountain torrent, Origen like a full, majestic river. The words of the latter flash like lightning, those of the former roll like thunder. The one discourses like a philosopher, the other harangues like a popular tribune."

The character of Cyprian, the martyr Bishop of Carthage, seems cold and colorless beside that of Tertullian. Calm, mild, prudent, led by judgment rather than by feeling, he is the very antithesis of the latter. During the Decian persecution he retired to a place of safety, that he might by his counsels guide the persecuted flock of Christ. That fidelity, not fear, was his motive, he showed by his heroic martyrdom when he felt that God's time had come. "The Emperors command thee to sacrifice," said the prefect. "I shall not obey," he replied: "fulfill your orders; in such a cause there needs no deliberation;" and he went rejoicing to his death.

We can only briefly notice the closing section of the book—a comprehensive survey of the attack and defense of Christianity in the domain of controversy. Our author sees not merely the picturesque aspect of things; he looks beneath the surface, and discovers their secret causes. His analysis of the spirit of the age, and of the reasons of the opposition to Christianity, exhibit a depth of Christian philosophy that puts to shame the shallow sophistries of Gibbon on the same subject. The various schools of philosophy—"Impious Epicureanism,

* *Adv. Marc.* 1.

proud Platonism, Oriental philosophy, and the subtle and mystical Pantheism of Alexandria, each in turn battered on the breach." All the conservative elements of society feared those subversive principles which threatened to undermine the worm-eaten fabric of ancient superstition. The haughty pagans resented the attempt of Christianity to solve the mysteries which so long had foiled the wisest of men. They met with sneering contempt or mocking laugh, like the Greeks on the Areopagus, the doctrine of the resurrection.

The delineation of these attacks on Christianity proves our author no less familiar with pagan than with Christian literature. The space given to Lucian, the scoffing atheist who mocked alike at Jove and Jesus, seems disproportionate to his relative importance; yet we would not have it less. The analysis of his character is masterly. "Lucian, like all his class," says Pressensé, "was not satisfied with rooting out the seeds from the field; he carried away with them the fruitful soil. He destroyed not superstition only, but the very faculty of faith. The human soul, when he has breathed upon it, resembles a desolate region sown with salt. True, no more weeds appear, but utter barrenness reigns in their stead. There is one thing more deplorable than believing in error, and that is to believe in nothing; this is the essential error, the fundamental aberration of the soul, the invincible obstacle to truth." Although he assailed paganism, he was not the ally of Christianity. "The voice that prepares the way of the Lord," Pressensé impressively remarks, "comes from the desert of conflict, not from the festal halls where wine-bibbers hold their impious revelry."

In these attacks on Christianity the keen dialectical skill of the Greek intellect employed the very weapons which modern skepticism has refurbished for the same purpose. Most of the arguments of Baur, Strauss, Renan, and Colenso are to be found in Porphyry and Celsus. Of the latter Pressensé remarks, "He collected in his quiver all the objections possible to be made, and there is scarcely one missing of all the arrows which in subsequent times have been aimed against the supernatural in Christianity." Then, as now, the fiercest battle waged around the great central truth of Christianity—the essential divinity of our Lord, who was held up to scorn by the

heathen as a "crucified impostor." The philosophic theosophy of the East, appealing to the syncretism of the age, sought to substitute for the divine evangel of Christ the motley gospel of Apollonius of Tyana, a mere plagiarism of the character and work of Jesus. The Church itself was rent by numerous factions, schisms, and heresies—

The clashing of creeds, and the strife
Of the many beliefs that in vain
Perplexed men's heart and brain—

till, in the Homoousion controversy, all Christendom was divided about a single diphthong.

Against these manifold attacks on the faith the primitive Fathers and Apologists valiantly contended. They solved for all time the many doubts and difficulties which audacious paganism in its last throes propounded. They followed heretical errors through all the dialectical windings of controversy, employing, for the most part, the flexible and copious Greek language, which was the only existing vehicle adequate for the expression of the vast and complex ideas of Christianity. Thus the new wine of the Gospel flowed from that classic chalice which so long had poured libations to the gods. Yet, with rare exceptions, the fathers defended the faith against the heathen and heretics in the spirit of meekness and of love. They sought rather to persuade men by the Orphic melodies of truth, and to convince the erring judgment by argument, than, as in after evil days, to coerce by external authority, or to hurl anathemas against recusant heretics. Even the impetuous Tertullian reverences the inviolable dignity of the human conscience, and asserts the broad and noble principle of toleration, which the heart of Christendom is so slow to learn. "It is," he says, "a fundamental human right that every man should worship according to his own convictions. It is no part of religion," he adds, "to compel religion."* The saintly Origen, as gentle as Fénelon or Fletcher, was an illustrious example of a magnanimous Christian controversialist. Of a deceased heretic, whose works he felt it a duty to confute, he says, "I love him, because he is dead."

We rise from the study of the subject which this book so

* *De Testimonia Animæ* ii.

admirably treats with profounder conceptions than ever of the nobleness, the purity, the holy enthusiasm, the true sublimity of the Christianity of those early centuries of fiery trial and martyrdom. It seems beautifully symbolized in the legend of St. Agnes, the Roman maiden of sweet and tender beauty, wooed by a pagan prince, but, true to her espousal to her heavenly bridegroom, rejecting with scorn his suit. She walked as in ecstatic vision, ever in her celestial spouse's presence, and, even amid tortures, proved faithful to his love. But we are haunted with the prescience of the near approaching period when this spotless bride of heaven shall forget her espousal vows, and, yielding to the seductions of earthly love, be wedded with imperial power; from which unhallowed union shall be born the brood of corruptions and vices which shall in after time despoil the fair inheritance of Christ.

ART. II.—WHAT IS THE FUTURE CONDITION OF THE WICKED?

THE question implies that the wicked have a future; its terms preclude the supposition of annihilation. Annihilation is extinction of being, *reduction to nothingness* and nonentity cannot properly be spoken of as a condition, which Webster defines as "a particular frame, form, mode, or disposition, in which a thing exists, at any given time." Upon the admission of the annihilation of the wicked, when the present life terminates, they simply *are not*; they cannot be said to *be* in any condition. If they are, their annihilation is contradicted.

The question submitted is mainly one of consistent biblical exegesis. To the Scriptures the final appeal must be made for certainty concerning the doom awaiting the wicked, and when we have reached a just interpretation of their utterances we have reached the truth. The rules of biblical interpretation are now so well adjusted, and universally recognized by scholars representing all the great schools of theology, that their application, when fairly made, may be expected to lead to results worthy of unqualified credence, may be expected to develop the real meaning of the sacred text. This remark at least

holds good in respect to every such important, yea, fundamental, matter as the destiny of souls hereafter.

In any discussion of our subject claiming to be exhaustive, philosophical arguments, drawn from our moral constitution, the tendencies of virtue and vice as they are manifested around us, the principles which must be assumed to enter into a divine government, if there be any, and the almost uniform testimony of religions reported to us in history, would properly have a place. Their chief use, however, is in confirming the truth of God as it addresses us in his word, in showing that there is harmony between the two divine revelations—the written and unwritten—and in meeting objections which themselves originate in the field of philosophical speculation, thus helping a class of thinkers who are honest in seeking truth, but who seem to need an extraordinary accumulation of evidence, who fail to see that, where a thing is fairly proved, objections which spring out of what we do not know can have no weight against it. Arguments of this kind are purposely omitted from this discussion, the limited space at command forbidding their introduction. Our aim will be merely to present the subject in some of its great outlines as the Bible seems to present it; in a word, to answer the question as the New Testament answers it.

It may be pronounced unnecessary, we think, in maintaining the orthodox doctrine respecting the final condition of the wicked, to lay any great stress upon the words *Gehenna*, *Sheol*, and *Hades*, certainly upon the last two. The examinations of modern scholarship leave it an open question, to say the least, whether *Hades* or *Sheol* can be relied on as descriptive of the final state of the wicked. "It is undoubtedly true," says Dr. Dwight in his Theology, "that the Hebrew *Sheol* and the Greek *Hades*, commonly rendered hell, or the grave, in our translation, do not properly signify either, but always *the world of departed spirits*. As these words have so extensive a signification, and must be interpreted by every passage of Scripture referring to that world, there must be room for considerable difference of opinion." Dr. Campbell, an eminent biblical critic, says: "In my judgment it (*Hades*) ought never in Scripture to be rendered *hell*, at least in the sense wherein that word is now universally understood by Christians." Alford, commenting on Luke xvi, 23, says: "Hades (ᾍδης) is the abode

of all disembodied spirits till the resurrection; not the place of torment, much less *hell*, as understood commonly in the English version. Lazarus was *also in Hades*, but separated from Dives: one on the blissful, the other on the baleful side." Dr. Whedon's comment on the same text is concurrent with that of Alford as to the meaning of "*Hades*, or the great *unseen*," adding, because "it is overshadowed by the power of death, . . . and is the place of *detention* even for the good, the word *Hades* is sometimes, as here, used as the proper name of the compartment of the wicked only."

Sheol, for which the Seventy have almost invariably substituted $\alpha\delta\eta\varsigma$, and to which there is satisfactory evidence for believing the New Testament *Hades* answers, according to Robinson, in his Greek Lexicon of the New Testament, "signified . . . *the under world*, and was held to be a vast subterranean place, full of thickest darkness, where dwelt the shades of the dead; but no distinction of place is indicated in the *Sheol* of the Old Testament between the righteous and the wicked." Smith's Dictionary of the Bible, under the word *Hell*, says "this is the word generally and unfortunately used by our translators to render the Hebrew *Sheol*. . . . It would, perhaps, have been better to retain the Hebrew word *Sheol*, or else render it always by the grave or the pit."

Gehenna is not open to the objection of indeterminateness which is urged against the other words. There is almost universal agreement among the best authorities that, in the New Testament, it denotes the place of future punishment. There ought to be no doubt. For example, the words of our Lord, Matt. x, 28: "And fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in (*Gehenna*) hell;" and in Mark ix, 47, 48: "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out; it is better for thee to enter into the kingdom of God with one eye, than having two eyes to be cast into the *Gehenna* of fire, where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched," can refer to nothing else than a place of future punishment. The valley of Hinnom, the name of which, *Ge Hinnom*, (*Gehenna*), was freely used by the Jewish Rabbis to denote a place of future torment, furnished the illustration; at that time no more appropriate and impressive one could have been found; but to

make *Gehenna* in these verses refer exclusively to that valley, or to any conceivable punishment in this world, is to make the Saviour speak absurdly, contradictorily.

Gehenna occurs twelve times in the New Testament. "In ten of these," says a distinguished scholar, "there can be no doubt that it refers to the abode of final punishment in the future world: in the other two places the expression is figurative; but it will scarcely admit of a question that the figure is taken from that state of misery which awaits the impenitent. Thus the Pharisees are said to make the proselyte, whom they compass sea and land to gain, twofold more the child of (*Gehenna*) hell than themselves; an expression both similar in form and equivalent in signification to *son, or child, of the devil*, and *son, or child, of perdition*. In the other passage an unruly tongue is said to be set on fire of (*Gehenna*) hell. These two cannot be considered as exceptions, it being the manifest intention of the writers in both to draw an illustration of the subject from that state of perfect wretchedness." Says Smith's Dictionary of the Bible: "The word most frequently used in the New Testament for the place of future punishment is *Gehenna*, or *Gehenna of fire*."

And yet all these words, which more or less represent Jewish and, to some extent, gross ideas, and the chief use of which consists in suggesting locality in connection with the future of the wicked, and in supplying a convenient terminology for expressing it—all these words may be dropped from the discussion of this subject, and the strength of the proof adducible in support of what we receive as the truth will not be diminished. The future condition of the wicked is not left—we cannot suppose that it would be left—to be alone inferred from such bare terms. Whatever it may be, we may expect to find it clearly, unmistakably declared;—declared in language which will carry conviction, with all the force of intuition, to every unperverted, ingenuous, studious mind. Hell, as pointing to an unknown place in the unmeasured universe of God, may be eliminated from the vocabulary of language, and yet the future condition of the wicked stands out in bold relief on the pages of the divine book, warning them that it shall be ill with them; that, though hand join in hand, they shall not go unpunished.

And now as to the future condition of the wicked. The
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following are the essential points upon which the word of God sheds light. And so full is the light poured upon them as to leave the pulpit not only without excuse, but criminally unfaithful, when it shuns to declare "the whole counsel of God," or gives an uncertain sound in respect to them.

1. In the world to come, as here, the wicked will be known as a distinct class, unlike and separate from the righteous, only the distinction and separation will then be more marked and perfect than is possible under the circumstances of probationary life. They are spoken of as to the future as they are spoken of here: they are the same—still the wicked, the unbelieving, the condemned, the lost. The good have a place of their own; so have the wicked—a place of different name and opposite nature. Pursuant to the decisions of the great testing day, they "go away," away from the good, to be forever away, a community by themselves. None will be, or ever can be, among them who do not belong to them. In manifold ways in the divine record, in describing the future of the good and bad respectively, the discrimination of character is observed, and the representations are such as to preclude the thought that they will ever come together,—that the one class will ever be merged in the other.

2. In the future the wicked are *punished*; they are the subjects of the retributive justice of the Divine Being.

There is a disposition on the part of some who hold to the future misery of such as die impenitent, to explain away or soften down the judicial aspect of the divine character: its amiableness is dwelt upon and distorted; and, by means of strained and wholly inapplicable illustrations, God is practically made out unwilling or afraid to execute the penalty of his law. He threatens—but it is only make-believe. He does not mean the sinner to believe that he is angry with him, though he says so. So a most shocking sentimentalism is indulged in the treatment of a subject from which, of all others, every thing approaching sentimentalism should be excluded.

God is indeed love. The New Testament gives a conception of the vastness, the glorious condescension, the amazing resources, of his love, which is almost overwhelming, when, in the Epistle to Titus (iii, 4) it holds him forth as the world-embracing, the world-seeking *Philanthropist*, ("Οτε δὲ ἡ χρησ-

τότης καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἐπεφάνη τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Θεοῦ. But God is no less love in punishing the incorrigible than in saving the penitent and believing sinner. In his wrathful no more than in his merciful visitations is one part of the divine nature compromised or sacrificed in order to exalt the other.

And while it is true the sinner entails upon himself the sufferings which belong to the world of woe, but eats the fruit of his doings, reaps what he has sown; while it is true that the anguish of his future is but sin working out its own, its natural, its inevitable results, it is none the less true that, by judicial sentence, he is bearing the infliction of divine penalty for wrong-doing, and that he will feel it most intensely and bitterly. The whole future experience of the wicked will be an experience of the power of the retributive justice of almighty God.

“Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.” “Then shall he say also unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels.” “The vengeance threatened,” it is well remarked, “is not personal revenge, but judicial retribution. The word is to be taken in the old English sense of a just punishment for wrong-doing, which is the exact idea of the Greek word *δίκη* in the text—*judicial punishment*. God does not indulge toward the transgressor that feeling of malice and vindictiveness which we call revenge, but he *avenges* the evil done in his kingdom by inflicting upon the transgressor the penalty of the law!”

It should not be overlooked that the most dreadful averments concerning the future of sinners are those which fell from the lips of Jesus,—that he, who was full of compassion and tenderness, proclaimed distinctly the punitive justice of God; that the most startling enunciations of the New Testament upon this subject are his, and that he prophesied the hour when he should be the Judge of all men, and when, by his sentence, sinners should go away to endure the wrath of the Lamb.

3. The future condition of the wicked will be one of untold suffering.

The representations of the New Testament are absolutely appalling. Nothing that transpires here begins to answer to

them, and they can only be intended to leave upon the mind the impression of deepest woe as the portion of those who die in their sins. If we could center in one soul all known and unknown forms of earthly misery, the misery of perdition would be unapproached.

The wicked are "*cast out into outer darkness ; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth ;*" they are *burned "with unquenchable fire ;*" they "*drink of the wine of the wrath of God ;*" they are "*tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb ;*" "*the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever ;*" the "*wrath of God abideth on them.*"

It is said these are *figurative expressions.* True ; but *they mean something*, and the figure seldom exceeds—in this case could not approach—the reality. And the fact that such appalling figures are used by the Lord himself in describing the doom of the wicked, itself proves the terrible nature of that doom.

It is said, again, it is absurd to believe in a hell of material fire, in any such thing as a literal lake of fire and brimstone ! We grant it. But material fire, the most torturing of all elements when applied to the body, is made the figure of the sufferings of the lost. Is not the conclusion forced upon us that these sufferings are of the most awful character ? Can there be any other reason for the use of the figure ?

4. The future condition of the wicked is a *changeless* one,—there are no remedial agencies at command to relieve their woe,—their punishment is an eternal punishment.

The only dispensation of mercy provided, as far as we know, is the one of the present ; and our ignorance furnishes no rational basis for hope of another in the future. If another were intended or is possible, it may be presumed we would have some hints of it.

It is morally certain that, with all the restraints of divine grace withdrawn, and with every influence operating upon the soul tending to foster and aggravate its unchecked depravity, as will be the case in the world of woe, the sinner will forever keep on sinning, and thus God will be unimpeachable in his justice and goodness if he keeps on punishing forever. He can do nothing else without becoming unjust. But the endlessness of the state into which the wicked go

at death is as unequivocally affirmed in the New Testament as any thing can be. Only two or three brief references are proposed.

Matt. xxv, 46: "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal." There ought to be no controversy concerning the import of these words. *Aionion* is the Greek word rendered in the first clause *everlasting*, and *eternal* in the second. This adjective, in the same number, gender, and case in both clauses, predicates respectively the duration of the punishment of the wicked and of the life of the righteous. If it means an indefinite period in one case, it may well be assumed, in the absence of all intimation to the contrary, that it means an indefinite period in the other. As far as this verse is concerned, every reason which can be assigned for limiting the punishment of the wicked holds good for limiting the happiness of the righteous.

It avails nothing to say that *aionion* is applied to things of only temporary duration. In every case the context and nature of the thing spoken of will prevent misapprehension. Examining the words to which the adjective is joined, we find that it is always used "to denote the longest period of which the subject mentioned in each case is capable." A "servant forever" is a servant during the whole period of his natural life, as long as he can be a servant. "Everlasting hills" and "everlasting mountains" mean hills and mountains remaining while the earth stands, as long as the conditions necessary to their continuance are undisturbed. When, therefore, Christ declares the punishment of the wicked to be everlasting, he must mean, unless he was ignorant of the purport of his own words or intentionally deceptious, so long as the wicked exist, that is, for ever and ever. A denial of their immortality is the only escape from this conclusion.

In respect to this word *aionion*, we further give the conclusions of one who, by his ripened scholarship and patient study of God's word, is worthy to be heard:

(1.) "It is the only word in the Greek language that fully expresses the idea of perpetual duration. Plato and other classic authors use this word for endless duration, or eternity, as distinguished from the idea of time. It denotes the ceaseless course of things."

(2.) "Jewish writers in the Greek tongue use this word for the idea of endless duration." The Seventy, in making their translation of the Old Testament for the Hellenistic Jews, have rendered the Hebrew word meaning eternity, and which is almost exclusively used to denote this attribute of Deity, by the word *aionion*; for example, Gen. xxi, 33: "And Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting (*aionios*) God."

(3.) "Out of a little more than seventy passages in the New Testament in which this word is used, in upward of sixty it clearly expresses eternal duration. Many of these passages refer to the being of God; others to the happiness of the saints. This is the word, and the only single word, to express the eternity of God's existence and the eternity of the blessedness of the righteous." The proof as to the signification of the word in the verse quoted is indeed overwhelming; it can mean nothing else than unending duration.

Another passage, which there is no mistaking, is Rom. vi, 23: "For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." Death in the first clause is obviously placed in opposition to eternal life in the second. The two members of the sentence are clearly antithetical. Hence we are compelled to supply *eternal* before death. The antithesis, every rule of right interpretation, requires it. It will then read: "For the wages of sin is eternal death," etc.

The utter hopelessness of the finally condemned in their future state is a logical inference from the positive statement of Scripture that their punishment will be identical in nature and duration with that inflicted upon wicked angels, (Matt. xxv, 41): "Depart, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels."

We give one more passage, the reply of Jesus to Martha, the sister of Lazarus, (John xi, 26): "And whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die;" (literally, *shall not die forever, oὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*,) implying that all who did not believe in him should die forever.

How could any thing be more clearly set forth than is the eternity of the punishment of the wicked in the New Testament?

The subject we have discussed has in it, it must be confessed, nothing pleasant to contemplate. Horrors run all

through it. There is, however, little in the condition of the sinner *here*, while rejecting or neglecting the great salvation, and thus evidencing the most shocking ingratitude and impious self-sufficiency, that is pleasant to contemplate. The single feature of his case that gives relief is that divine mercy now bears with him and holds out the possibility of recovery.

Unpleasant as the subject may be, it belongs to the ministry to study it, to understand it as a part of divine revelation, and to preach it. We may add, clear and strong scriptural expositions of the subject, and earnest enforcement and appeal based upon them; such as distinguished the early Methodist preachers, were never more needed than now.

It should not be the only theme of pulpit discourse, but it should be among its themes. The certainty of future and eternal punishment should not be the only incentive presented to lead men to salvation; but it is one of many incentives; for some characters it proves the most effective, and should never be altogether passed by. Surely, it is kindness to tell dying men the fearful doom awaiting them, except they repent and be converted. It is cruelty unmeasured, immeasurable, either for fear or favor, to lift no warning voice while they are drifting away to endless woe, all the while flattering themselves with hopes which are doomed to remediless disappointment.

The doctrine of future and eternal punishment should be preached solemnly, tenderly; the whole manner of the preacher, when he presents it, should indicate the deepest compassion for souls; he should never be so ready to weep as when warning guilty men to flee the wrath to come. "Were you able to preach the doctrine *tenderly*?" said M'Cheyne to a brother minister, who spoke to him of a sermon upon endless punishment. In the treatment of such a subject, boisterous declamation, harsh denunciation, all extravagance of fancy, is nothing else than sin.

"Knowing, therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." "Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me. When I say unto the wicked, O wicked man, thou shalt surely die; if thou dost not speak to warn the wicked from his way, that wicked man shall die in his iniquity; but his blood will I require at thine hand."

ART. III.—PETER CARTWRIGHT AND PREACHING IN THE WEST.*

[FIRST ARTICLE.]

THE rapid expansion of population in America is certainly one of the most remarkable facts of contemporary history. When the barbarians overran the Western Empire in the hour of its fall, the motive which drew them toward the rich and fertile regions of Gaul, Italy, and Spain is sufficiently apparent: they were to exchange their huts for palaces, their poverty for the treasures of those who commanded the world. All the advantages, all the attractions of a superior civilization, combined to inflame their cupidity. The United States have, however, for now nearly a century, offered us the spectacle of a movement quite the reverse. Here, an irresistible impulse urges far away from the sea-coast, far from the centers of commerce and intellectual activity, a young and vigorous people; cities are abandoned for the forests, civilization for the desert. To-day the route is well trodden, and the masses of the population, ever increasing as they move westward, have already before their eyes the example and the successes of two generations. Yet how great are the obstacles and dangers which still await the emigrants! The farther they advance from the sea-coast the more sparsely populated are the regions they traverse, the poorer the roads, and the more rare and difficult to obtain are sustenance and aid.

Soon the pioneer stands face to face with solitude; he can reckon only upon himself for subsistence and security; he must find all resources in his own arm; must be himself laborer, artisan, and soldier. In the hour of danger, whether it is sickness, famine, or a hostile hand that knocks at the door, he is too distant from human ear to make his voice heard; he falls unobserved, and it is chance only that shall

* We published not long since in our *Quarterly* an article on Wesley and Methodism, by Remusat, an eminent French statesman, taken from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris. We now give an article from the same periodical on a kindred subject, nearer home. It is interesting to survey Western Methodism from such a stand-point. The numerous errors in detail we have thought it unnecessary to correct for our readers. The general views are true and striking.—ED.

reveal his misfortune or the violence he may have suffered. If at the present period not a year passes without the occurrence of some marked calamity, it is easy to understand how great must have been the peril of emigration at the close of the last century.

There was land enough every-where: Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia had not, when Ohio and Kentucky received their first colonists, the fourth of their present population; the unoccupied and arable lands which still abounded in these States invited from every direction the industry of numerous laborers; neither food nor social security were lacking.

Nevertheless, the more distant regions of the West exercised already upon the imagination so strong an attraction that thousands of families determined to abandon their homes and risk all to reach the valley of the Mississippi. For this purpose it was necessary to surmount the Alleghanies, and traverse innumerable forests which were infested by savages. Kentucky only too justly claimed its Indian name, "The Bloody Ground." This region was not the property of any particular tribe; the Indians who dwelt upon the banks of the Ohio and the Tennessee looked upon it as a sort of neutral territory, as an immense reserve, where they were privileged to hunt their game, and from which they were determined to exclude every stranger. Therefore they resisted with fury the encroachments of the Americans. There was then no road through the woods; hardly was a narrow path found, utterly impracticable for wheels. The emigrants carried all their movables upon horseback. Single families did not make the venture alone, but caravans were formed and guides were taken, young and vigorous men who were well accustomed to the hardships of the way, familiar with the region, and good marksmen. One could not then pass a day's journey in the woods without finding some scalped corpse; while in one place and another a commemorative name of sinister import, as "Camp Defeat," recalled some act of frightful butchery.

When the father of Peter Cartwright left Virginia for Kentucky, in 1790, he joined one of these caravans, numbering one hundred families, every man of them carrying a gun, while they had also an armed escort of a hundred men. The company, despite their numbers, were constantly harassed by

the Indians. After a march of several days, the night fell upon them seven miles from Crab Orchard, which was the first American settlement within the limits of Kentucky and enjoyed the protection of a fort. The emigrants determined to press on, and take no rest till they should find security at the settlement. Seven families, however, overcome by fatigue or satisfied with the safety of their position, preferred to remain and encamp on the spot. They were attacked during the night and all massacred, with the exception of one man, who fled, half naked, and reported at the fort the sad event. Volunteers immediately set out on horseback, and hastened to overtake the savages at the point where they usually crossed the Ohio; there they laid an ambuscade and slew the greater part of the Indians, recovering from them the spoils of the massacred emigrants.

Such were every-day occurrences, and the earlier annals of Kentucky abound in accounts of like horrors. And yet the relentless hostility of the Indians was not the only danger which we have to notice. Not all the colonists were drawn westward by the fertility or cheapness of the land. Certain ardent and adventurous characters were seen among them, undisciplined spirits who could endure no check, who sought in the wilderness release from all control, whether the conventionalities or obligations of society. Besides these, whoever might be in any way amenable to justice would seek impunity by emigration to the West, and such characters brought a yet more dangerous element into the rude and turbulent community, which, by its habituation to arms and the chase, was already sufficiently predisposed to acts of violence. Force alone could establish order and security. Hear upon this subject the testimony of an eye-witness:

Logan County, when my father moved to it, was called "Rogues' Harbor." Here many refugees, from almost all parts of the Union, fled to escape justice or punishment; for although there was law, yet it could not be executed, and it was a desperate state of society. Murderers, horse thieves, highway robbers, and counterfeitors, fled here, until they combined and actually formed a majority. The honest and civil part of the citizens would prosecute these wretched banditti, but they would swear each other clear; and they really put all law at defiance, and carried on such desperate violence and outrage that the honest part

of the citizens seemed to be driven to the necessity of uniting and combining together, and taking the law into their own hands, under the name of Regulators. This was a very desperate state of things.

Shortly after the Regulators had formed themselves into a society, and established their code of by-laws, on a court day at Russellville the two bands met in town. Soon a quarrel commenced, and a general battle ensued between the rogues and Regulators, and they fought with guns, pistols, dirks, knives, and clubs. Some were actually killed, many wounded; the rogues proved victors, kept the ground, and drove the Regulators out of town. The Regulators rallied again, hunted, killed, and lynched many of the rogues, until several of them fled, and left for parts unknown. Many lives were lost on both sides, to the great scandal of civilized people. This is but a partial view of frontier life.

The existence of those early Western colonists, as illustrated also by that of the emigrants in our day, was a succession of privations. Game was the staple of their nourishment, and often, like the savages, they broiled upon the coals the deer but half skinned. They broke their corn and grain in a mortar, and had for drink a decoction of sage, sassafras, and other odoriferous herbs, which they sweetened with maple sugar. They planted flax, steeped and broke it themselves; they cleaned by hand the cotton which they raised, while the women carded, spun, and wove the linen and cotton to make out of the coarse stuff they had thus manufactured their husbands' garments. As to the thousand superfluities which are the most clamorous wants of civilized nations, these were entirely disregarded. The noted evangelist, who appears to personify the most brilliant era of Western preaching, Peter Cartwright, was ten years old before he had seen coffee. In process of time, however, one of his father's neighbors learned that the American Government had established at Fort Messick, on the bank of the Ohio, a depot of groceries and household articles, and had authorized exchanges with the pioneers. He at once cut down an enormous poplar, hollowed out its trunk to form a canoe, and in this improvised vessel undertook to descend the Red River, then the Cumberland, and then to ascend the Ohio as far as the fort. Each one gave to his charge whatever he might have for sale, or a little money, with a list of the articles desired in return. The voyage succeeded well, and it was the subject of interest for a long time in Kentucky.

Nothing came to disturb the monotony of ordinary life. In the fine season the men journeyed long distances on Sunday to meet together for the chase or for fishing. They improvised horse-races, played cards, and, if women were in their company, formed dances. Amid the pleasures and necessities of a material life, intellectual and moral wants received little attention. Very few of the emigrants possessed books, and little time had they to read. Only a high degree of natural intelligence and a strong purpose could have reserved from the cares of each day room for soul-culture. Minds become dormant from want of exercise revolted at a demand for effort. Even sentiments of religion, however deeply they strike root by nature in the human heart, yet grew feeble and inactive in the depths of the forest, where the word of God was seldom heard. Religious services of whatever form, whether public prayer or preaching, were but rarely enjoyed; often were the dead laid in their earthly resting-place with none to say a word of farewell or offer consolation to the survivors. Years rolled away before children could be baptized: they grew up receiving no instruction except such as might be afforded by their parents, who were themselves ignorant and blind, attached only to earthly pursuits, and with the most imperfect notions of the Deity. Credulity prevailed generally among the pioneers; they were exposed to all manner of superstition and error. With some scraps of ill-digested knowledge, a certain facility in speech and in captious argument, one might easily pass for a man of superior wisdom with these backwoods settlers, and persuade them to almost any belief. There were not wanting impostors to seize upon these advantages, and the most vulgar devices, the grossest artifices, enabled such persons to secure with their dupes an irresistible prestige. Let us hear a Methodist preacher give an account of a contest he sustained with one of these impostors:

There was here in Marietta a preacher by the name of A. Sargent; he had been a Universalist preacher, but finding such a motley gang as I have above mentioned, he thought (and thought correctly, too) that they were proper subjects for his imposture. Accordingly, he assumed the name of Halcyon Church, and proclaimed himself the millennial messenger. He professed to see visions, fall into trances, and to converse with angels. His followers were numerous in the town and country.

The Presbyterian and Congregational ministers were afraid of him. He had men preachers and women preachers. The Methodists had no meeting-house in Marietta. We had to preach in the court-house when we could get a chance. We battled pretty severely. The Congregationalists opened their academy for me to preach in. I prepared myself, and gave battle to the Halegons. This made a mighty commotion. In the mean time we had a camp-meeting in the suburbs of Marietta. Brother Sale, our presiding elder, was there. Mr. Sargent came, and hung around and wanted to preach; but Brother Sale never noticed him. I have said before that he professed to go into trances and have visions. He would swoon away, fall, and lay a long time; and when he would come to he would tell what mighty things he had seen and heard.

On Sunday night, at our camp-meeting, Sargent got some powder, lit a cigar, and then walked down to the bank of the river, one hundred yards, where stood a large stump. He put his powder on the stump and touched it with his cigar. The flash of the powder was seen by many at the camp, at least the light. When the powder flashed, down fell Sargent: there he lay a good while. In the mean time the people found him lying there and gathered around him. At length he came to, and said he had a message from God to us Methodists. He said God had come down to him in a flash of light, and he fell under the power of God, and thus received his vision.

Seeing so many gathered around him there, I took a light and went down to see what was going on. As soon as I came near the stump I smelled the sulphur of the powder; and, stepping up to the stump, there was clearly the sign of powder, and hard by lay the cigar with which he had ignited it. He was now busy delivering his message. I stepped up to him and asked him if an angel had appeared to him in that flash of light.

He said, "Yes."

Said I, "Sargent, did not that angel smell of brimstone?"

"Why," said he, "do you ask me such a foolish question?"

"Because," said I, "if an angel has spoken to you at all, he was from the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone!" and raising my voice, I said, "I smell sulphur now!" I walked up to the stump, and called on the people to come and see for themselves. The people rushed up, and soon saw through the trick, and began to abuse Sargent for a vile impostor. He soon left, and we were troubled no more with him or his brimstone angels.

Another anecdote will further show the ignorance and excessive simplicity of these Western emigrants, who lacked often the first elements of Christian knowledge. It will show how the most *bizarre* errors and the most senseless doctrines could find credit with them:

Mr. Lee was once preaching in a private house. He had taken for his text: "Except a man deny himself, and take up his cross, he cannot be my disciple." He urged on his congregation, with melting voice and tearful eyes, to take up the cross; no matter what it was, take it up.

There were in the congregation a very wicked Dutchman and his wife, both of whom were profoundly ignorant of the Scriptures and the plan of salvation. His wife was a notorious scold, and so much was she given to this practice that she made her husband unhappy, and kept him almost always in a perfect fret, so that he led a most miserable and uncomfortable life. It pleased God that day to cause the preaching of Mr. Lee to reach their guilty souls and break up the great deep of their hearts. They wept aloud, seeing their lost condition, and they, then and there, resolved to do better, and from that time forward to take up the cross and bear it, be it what it might.

The congregation were generally deeply affected. Mr. Lee exhorted them, and prayed for them as long as he consistently could; and, having another appointment some distance off that evening, he dismissed the congregation, got a little refreshment, saddled his horse, mounted, and started for his evening appointment. After riding some distance he saw, a little ahead of him, a man trudging along carrying a woman on his back. This greatly surprised Mr. Lee. He very naturally supposed that the woman was a cripple, or had hurt herself in some way, so that she could not walk. The traveler was a small man, and the woman large and heavy.

Before he overtook them Mr. Lee began to cast about in his mind how he could render them assistance. When he came up to them, lo and behold! who should it be but the Dutchman and his wife that had been so affected under his sermon at meeting. Mr. Lee rode up and spoke to them, and inquired of the man what had happened, or what was the matter, that he was carrying his wife.

The Dutchman turned to Mr. Lee and said, "Besure you did tell us in your sarmon dat we must take up de cross and follow de Saviour, or dat we could not be saved or go to heaven, and I does desire to go to heaven so much as any pody; and dish wife is so pad, she scold and scold all de time, and dish woman is de greatest cross I have in de whole world, and I does take her up and pare her, for I must save my soul."

You may be sure that Mr. Lee was posed for once, but after a few moments' reflection he told the Dutchman to put his wife down, and he dismounted from his horse. He directed them to sit down on a log by the roadside. He held the reins of his horse's bridle, and sat down by them, took out his Bible, read to them several passages of Scripture, and explained and expounded to them the way of the Lord more perfectly. He opened to them the nature of the cross of Christ, what it is, how it is to be taken up, and how they were to bear that cross; and after teaching

and advising them some time, he prayed for them by the roadside, left them deeply affected, mounted his horse, and rode on to his evening appointment.

The young and unformed community could not have continued long in such a state of ignorance without falling into utter barbarism. Then the presence of certain actively-evil elements, which, in a manner above indicated, had found their way here, put it in like peril. It is true, the human spirit may claim for itself an inward energy capable of rising to the perception and observance of the eternal laws of morality; but such an attainment is only the result of wise culture for the masses, or is a special endowment of certain privileged natures. The most ambitious philosophy, even when it pretends to be the sole guide and aid for the conduct of life, can only claim the control of certain elect souls, and confesses its inability to save the majority of mankind. However natural and vital be the instincts of men for the just and the good, yet the clearest conceptions of moral truth cannot escape obscuration and extinction unless the sentiment of religion is present to bring the human creature into the presence of his Creator, that he may thus be mindful of his origin and dependence, and that the eternal connection between virtue and its reward, iniquity and its punishment, may be ever before his eyes. Not only was the recognition of God and of his claims needed among these untrained people as a social safeguard, but there must be nourishment for the individual soul, which is elevated and strengthened by instruction in the sublime verities of religion. Was it sufficient to save these poor settlers from the indulgence of coarse passions? Did they not also need amid the pressure of numerous physical wants the counterpoise of higher considerations to detach their affections from earth, and their thoughts from the dominion of a gross materialism? And whence might come to the Western pioneers such indispensable instruction? Lost in the depth of the wilderness, isolated from one another, separated from civilized institutions by distance, and still more by the perils of the journey, from whom might they expect to hear the Divine word? Who would become the shepherd of this wandering flock? Who would undertake to lead back to God, one by one, these abandoned sheep? Little could be expected of the colonial

clergy, who were none too numerous for their immediate duties. In New England the Puritan Church had lost all spirit of proselytism; alarmed by the divisions which were developing in its own bosom, it was exhausting itself in efforts to preserve a factitious unity. In Virginia and in the Southern colonies, the Anglican clergy, abundantly supported by the liberality of the early colonists, led a peaceful life, visited the estates of the wealthy, and paid very little regard to the *poor whites* who each year left the Atlantic coast to press beyond the Alleghanies into the Western solitudes.

No religious and moral culture, spiritual counsel or formal worship, would have been for a long time enjoyed in the Mississippi valley had there not, at the very moment when the westward emigration began, also occurred a reform movement within the Anglican Church. The Freethinkers of the eighteenth century in France were preceded by the Freethinkers of England. The age of Queen Anne was the age of wits and infidels. The Puritan fanaticism, which had so profoundly agitated England, could only survive under persecution; it had lost all force, like an unbent spring, and the power of ridicule had deprived it of all its former influence. The Anglican clergy, no longer stimulated by the ardor or dangers of the conflict, relieved of inquietude both from the side of Papists and Republicans, were now occupied far more with politics and literature than with theology. The welfare of souls was their least care; well endowed, full of the world and of philosophy, they followed the bent of the age, and were of two classes: the younger sons of the nobility, assured by their birth of attaining honorable stations and rich sinecures, and pensioners of the University, whose sole ambition was to find *entrée* to the society of some influential patron as the means of securing a benefice. The higher classes of society had been seduced to infidelity by the corruption of morals, the middle classes by bad example, and the mass through neglect, ignorance, and the absence of all religious instruction.

At this point of religious destitution a reformer arose. John Wesley belonged to a clerical family: he was both son and grandson of English clergymen distinguished for their literary labors. He himself was early known for the fervor of his religious faith and the severity of his manners. While only a

student at Oxford he formed with some of his fellow-pupils, who were brought together by his example, a small society ; they met to pray together, applied themselves to works of charity, and agreed to observe every day, at the same hours, the same exercises of devotion ; they renounced dancing, card-playing, and all the worldly amusements so much enjoyed at Oxford. These associates were named, in derision, by the other students, *Methodists*. On leaving the University John Wesley believed himself called upon to carry the Gospel to the Indians, and set out for America ; but at the end of two years he returned to England, and resolved to pursue his vocation among his fellow-countrymen.

It was no question of doctrine which engaged his attention. Brought up in the Church of England, he held, at least in the beginning of his career, to all its dogmas. He was grieved to behold the general corruption of morals, the indifference which pervaded every soul, the apathy and powerlessness of the clergy. Why was the Church, notwithstanding its immense resources, thus stricken with sterility, making no aggression, and devoid of inward life ? Why was the clergy so wealthy, so cultured and learned, yet devoid of power with the masses ? Since the doctrine remained pure, such paralysis in the Church must result from some defect of organization ; some element of connection was wanting, by absence of which the clergy and their flock, priest and laymen, were prevented from acting effectively upon each other. Like all reformers, Wesley applied himself, first of all, to the study of earlier times, and would return to primitive Christianity ; he asked himself how the faith was so rapidly propagated, and how the zeal and fervor of the primitive Church was sustained. Two forms of preaching had simultaneously co-operated, as it appeared to him, to produce the effect : that of the apostles, who had received Divine authority, and that of simple evangelists ; that is, of private Christians who felt themselves called upon to preach the Gospel, and whose zeal made them every-where the precursors and auxiliaries of the apostles. The Church, then, had really been mutilated ; one of the two sources of a sustained faith had been shut up in confining to the clergy alone the right to preach. The clergy must, indeed, be the depository of doctrine ; but why forbid the co-operation of the

laity in the propagation of the Gospel? Why refuse the assistance of pious souls who, filled with holy ardor, feel themselves summoned to strengthen and revive the faith of their brethren? The required reformation demanded no rupture with the English Church, nor indeed any change in the establishment; it was only necessary to supply its lack by adding to the instructions of the clergy the aid and stimulus which would proceed from lay preaching.

It is no part of our present purpose to trace the progress of Methodism in England. It was rapid. In the midst of his successes Wesley never lost sight of America, which had seen the first efforts of his ministry.

Just at the opening of the struggle between the colonists and the mother country, at the moment when the first emigrants were entering the limits of Kentucky and Ohio, he sent across the Atlantic certain chosen preachers. Already some of his followers had passed the sea, and had begun the work of proselytism in the principal maritime cities; but Methodism could not migrate without undergoing some change. Wesley had expressly enjoined upon his preachers to regard themselves solely as assistants of the clergy, to confine themselves to preaching, and in no way to interfere with priestly functions. They might not even baptize infants, except in danger of death; but they must for all ceremonies of worship and administration of the sacraments look to the regularly established ministers of the Church. Nothing was easier than this in England. But the case was quite otherwise in the colonies, where the English clergy were few in number; and in the interior, far from the towns, it was impossible to observe such a rule. A population destitute of spiritual institutions had certainly the greatest need of preaching, and to such a field the Methodist preachers were impelled by a genuine Gospel zeal and by good hope of success. Here they found every day the dead to be buried, an infant to be baptized, a marriage to be consummated, under circumstances where it was impossible to summon a minister; besides, they could not resist the earnestly-expressed desires of the people, and the assumption by the laity of all clerical functions became an absolute necessity of the situation. The War of Independence raised another barrier between English Methodism and the body of its adherents

in America. The preachers sent out by Wesley were Englishmen, and open in advance to the suspicions of the colonists. Partaking themselves the opinion of their master on the matter of the revolt, they were generally hostile to the cause of Independence, and exerted against it the influence which they possessed, refusing themselves to swear obedience to the newly-established authorities and inciting others to do the same. This was sufficient to awaken against them popular indignation, provoked and stimulated as this also was by the jealousy and denunciations of the American clergy. Some of them were imprisoned, some changed their course, others fled for safety to the woods. This very persecution, of short duration, served to incite a special zeal in proselytism, courage, and other virtues, which drew many adherents to the cause of Methodism.

When independence was finally gained there was no longer occasion for opposition on the part of the preachers. The greater number of them returned, however, to England, following the example of many clergymen of the English Church. The latter ceased to be in America a State Church. It had no longer a recognized hierarchy, and its only revenues now were the voluntary contributions of its adherents. Nearly all its ministers preferred returning to the old country, where a career to which they were accustomed still remained for them. To join the destinies of Methodism to the fortunes of a Church which was now subjected by the change of circumstances to a necessary declension; to oblige a young and vigorous nation, jealous of its independence, to borrow from a distant land, thenceforth foreign, and perhaps hostile, its ecclesiastical establishment, its clergy and spiritual instruction; to maintain the formal ties of religion after those of national life were sundered —this was to strangle in its birth the work just begun. Wesley was the first to perceive this, and, renouncing at once the authority he had hitherto exercised over the Methodists in America, he allowed them to organize themselves as an independent Church. He sent to the United States in 1784, for the superintendence of the work, a man who enjoyed in a special degree his confidence, Dr. Coke, and joined to him as assistant the most popular of the preachers then in America, Francis Asbury. An assembly of the preachers was convened

at Baltimore on Christmas, and sixty out of the eighty-six were present.* Asbury, although by birth an Englishman, refused to accept the authorization of Wesley, unless this were confirmed by the free choice of his associates. This conference, following the designation of Wesley, elected Coke and Asbury jointly to the position of superintendents or bishops, and chose immediately out of its own number, by a majority vote, twelve preachers, who received the title of elders. These were to administer the sacraments and exercise a certain direction over their colleagues. The conference, at the same time, adopted as a symbol of faith twenty-five *Articles of Religion*, prepared by Wesley, and which were but an abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles of the English creed. The establishment of the new order of clergy, the government of the Church, the determination of the form of doctrine, all depended thenceforth upon votes of the conference, and the votes had for their basis universal suffrage [of the clergy.] It were impossible to model the religious community more perfectly in accordance with the civil order.

Let us try to make clear as to its details the organization of the Methodist Church. As soon as in any locality the number of its adherents may reach ten or twelve, they are formed into a class with a *leader* at its head. The class is to meet once a week for united prayer, and it is the duty of the leader to visit at least once a week each member of his class, to be informed of the state of his soul, and to strengthen him in the faith. The number in the class must never exceed twenty, and when the increase is beyond that point subdivision takes place. When several classes have been formed in one locality or near neighborhood they seek to form a society and secure a church, where they may regularly worship on the Sabbath. The conduct of the services and the preaching is undertaken, almost always gratuitously, by a local preacher, chosen by the class-leaders from the members, in view of his especial fitness for these duties, and regularly authorized. In defect of a preacher, some one of the members who seems to have a calling, and some facility in speaking, assumes this work under the name of *exhorter*. Only the ministry of the sacraments—and this is the peculiar

* According to Stevens's History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the whole number of preachers at this time was eighty-one.—TR.

trait of American Methodism—pertains exclusively to the evangelist or traveling preacher, who is charged with the message of the Gospel within a given precinct called a *circuit*, and to whom the local preacher is but an assistant. It is he who appoints the class-leaders, and who gives preaching licenses to the exhorters. He directs the ceremonies of the worship wherever he is present, and confers upon the converts whose life is satisfactory the title of church member. The traveling preacher consecrates himself entirely to the ministry, and for his support is dependent upon the circuit. He is at first, however, but a layman, and he must preach for two years, and follow certain studies, to receive the order of deacon. Two more years of preaching and study admit him to a higher order, and allow him to be constituted an elder. The deacon, whose diploma must be signed by a bishop, has authority not only to preach, but to baptize children, to perform marriages, and, in the administration of the Supper, to assist the elders, who alone have power to consecrate the communion.

Several circuits make a district, at the head of which is a Presiding Elder. The duty of these elders is to visit each circuit at least once a quarter to preach and administer the sacraments; at the same time they assemble preachers, traveling and local, to consider with them the spiritual wants of the circuit, to deliver licenses to new preachers who may be recommended by the societies, and to hear any complaints against such as may be already in exercise of that office. Several districts form a Conference, the superintendence of which belongs to a Bishop. He must constantly travel in his circumscription, and he presides every year over a conference composed of all the presiding elders and all the elders of his charge, and of two preachers from each district. This conference exercises a disciplinary power upon all the members within its bounds; it appoints the presiding elders, and assigns the preachers to their circuits, who may not preach to the same people more than two consecutive years. The bishops and delegates elected by such conference form a general assembly, which meets every four years, and is the supreme power, since it elects and controls the bishops, and pronounces in the last resort upon all questions of discipline; while it can, within certain restrictions, modify the doctrine, rules, and constitution of the Church.

Such in its essential features is the organization of the American Methodist Church, a studied and complicated organization which did not spring from the brain of one man nor arise in a moment, but is the product of time and experience. It was developed and perfected as each new want appeared, and so has satisfied nearly all the needs of a society placed in conditions entirely different from those of the old world. Faithful to the principle set forth by Wesley, American Methodism seeks to combine the efforts of individual zeal with the regular action of the clergy, who themselves are constantly incited by the incessant oversight of the presiding elders and bishops.

The flexible organization of this Church permits it to follow in its most rapid progress a community whose expansive movements never cease. As fast as civilization overspreads the wilderness, and the circle of active life is enlarged, the Methodist circuit is transformed into a district, the district into a conference, and in such a way that the preachers never find themselves overburdened, and the control of the organization remains ever vigorous. The constitution of the class provides at the same time the means of following the emigrant into the very depths of the forest. The peculiarity of Methodism—and here lies the secret of its spread—is, that it never leaves the Christian man to himself, abandoned of spiritual aid. If the preacher be wanting, the most isolated believer is sure to find counsel, encouragement, or consolation from the exhorter or the class-leader. At the same time that the wisely-constituted organization of Methodism enables it to reach to the extreme limits of civilization, it also embraces, as not all the American sects do, the lowest classes within its fold; it does not leave the Negro without Christian culture, and sends its Missions also to the Indians.

II. The introduction of Methodism into America, and the commencement of the western emigration, were two contemporary facts. The details to which we have just given attention readily make it apparent how well the Methodist Church was from its origin suited to meet the spiritual wants of the emigrants; it alone was so organized as to be able to follow step by step this movable population, and to carry the Gospel even to the most distant cabin. It alone could be present

whenever a grave was opened, or the infant was found in its cradle, or in a single soul there moved an inspiration toward heaven and a desire for prayer. Thus one might well call it the *Church of the West*. The other sects have moved toward the Mississippi as fast as any numbers of their adherents formed part of the emigration thither; but Methodism alone exercised a weighty influence upon the mixed crowd, and to it the mass of the Western population owes its instruction and its belief.

In making mention of the institutions, it would be unjust to forget the men. The first Methodist preachers showed that zeal, that ardor, that power with men which seem the property of all founders of sects, and which are the fruits of disinterestedness and conviction. Asbury, Lee, and M'Kendree, by their truly evangelical labors, by their perseverance under every obstacle, by their poverty and sufferings, might well have appeared to their contemporaries as the*worthy successors of the apostles. It were, indeed, impossible to carry self-denial to a greater extent, or to be more completely devoted to the good of others. Francis Asbury, the real founder of American Methodism, was born at Handsworth, near Birmingham, August 20, 1745. Of a disposition naturally serious, so far that he was called from his childhood by his companions *the Curate*, he was converted to Methodism at the age of thirteen, and at sixteen was already an exhorter. At twenty-two he became a travelling preacher; and four years later Wesley, who had a high opinion of him, sent him to America. He was never again to see his native land, although he had left at home an aged mother, for whose wants he continued to provide. The other preachers limited themselves to preaching in the cities of the sea-coast; but Asbury undertook to spread the Gospel tidings into the distant interior, and his success far surpassed his expectations. Therefore would he not leave America, not even in the height of the War of Independence; and when he found his life menaced by the republican authorities he took refuge with one of the converts, where he remained until he could again begin his mission. He presided over the conference at Baltimore, where the institutions of the new Church were formed, and he was commissioned to supervise as bishop the practical working of the organization. He was a man full of dignity, though of affectionate disposition, a strict observer of discipline, and to

all he presented an example of zeal, activity, and toil. Despite the failing of his strength and impaired health, he would devolve upon none other the discharge of any of his duties, and died at the age of seventy-one, in the midst of his episcopal labors, March 31, 1816. He had preached fifty-five years, and had spent forty-five years in America. During these forty-five years he presided at 224 conferences, had preached 16,425 sermons, without reckoning minor addresses, and had traveled in his circuits 90,000 leagues. The journal, in which with short notes he has recorded the employment of his time, presents him to us, now in New England and then among the swamps of Virginia; here on the sea-coast and there in the valley of the Mississippi; traversing afoot, or often on a miserable horse, incredible distances, sleeping on the ground, and suffering by turns hunger, thirst, and sickness. More than once, fearing an attack from the Indians, he stood sentinel all night over his companions who were exhausted by the way. He had to cross the largest rivers on horseback, and content himself in the midst of the woods with the provisions contained in his sack and with wild fruit. It often happened to him to find no lodging-place, and sometimes the proprietor of a cabin set the dogs upon him as he was seen approaching. No obstacle, however, stayed the devoted traveler, sustained as he was by an indefatigable zeal and by the increasing success of his efforts. Much later, referring to a journey made with M'Kendree, he writes: "My strength had yielded to fatigue. We were traveling now in a miserable carriage which had cost us thirty dollars, the expense being shared between us: the purchase had taken all our fortune. What bishops we are! but we bear the Gospel, and we live in a grand era! Each one of our conferences at the West, South, and in Virginia will have this year a thousand souls truly converted to God. Is not that a compensation for a poorly-filled purse? Are we not well paid for our hunger and fatigue? Yea, doubtless, and glory be to God!" The preaching of Asbury had borne fruit, but his words borrowed from his character the chief part of their power. He indulged little in imagination; with an organizing and practical genius, and such sagacity and penetration that he seemed veritably to read the hearts of men, he had the gift of government.

To M'Kendree eloquence was natural. A native of Virginia, he bore arms in the War of Independence, and raised himself to the grade of adjutant. It was after the conclusion of peace that he felt himself called to preach, and then he abandoned all for the ministry. He directed his efforts to the most distant regions of the West, and soon acquired a great ascendancy over the population. His commanding stature, pleasing address, fine figure, musical voice, and the natural eloquence of his look and gesture, all contributed to the effect of his words upon a rude and unthinking people. Crowds followed him, and he was always pleased to find himself in the midst of a multitude. It was he who originated* the *camp-meetings*, which have constituted one of the most peculiar features of Western life, and about which, with equal reason, both good and bad may be said. M'Kendree called together in the midst of the forest the people of a whole county, for without a building of suitable magnitude consecrated to worship there was no way of gathering a large assembly but in the open air. They came from a circumference of twenty leagues, afoot, on horseback, and in wagons: each brought provisions for the journey and a tarry of two days. A large platform was built on which the preacher stood. A trembling seized M'Kendree when he beheld the silent mass around him; he seemed to be without self-control, his tongue hesitated, his words were not at command; then, suddenly, as if touched with a divine fire, he would recover himself, would burst forth in magnificent eloquence, while his voice filled the immense forest, and the sinners whom his words had stricken, as with a thunderbolt, came casting themselves at his feet and crying for mercy. Such occasions of open-air preaching throughout the West were the signals for those great religious movements which periodically appear in the United States, and spread their contagious influence eastwardly from the Mississippi Valley to the Atlantic States. The honor of originating these movements belongs to Methodism and to M'Kendree. The latter had already been twelve years addressing the western population, when Asbury, in 1800, formed the Mississippi Valley into a district, and gave it into his charge. The district comprised

* M'Kendree did not originate the camp-meetings. They originated among the Presbyterians, and were adopted by the Methodists.—TR.

the limits of the present States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Texas, a part of Virginia and of Illinois, embracing in all a territory of 1,500 square miles. M'Kendree had to traverse the whole district four times a year quite alone, and under the peculiar difficulties above described. After eight years M'Kendree was associated with Asbury in the episcopate by the suffrage of the General Conference, and he discharged these functions twenty-seven years; but the later years of his life were passed in great suffering, as a consequence of the infirmities induced by his long wanderings and privations.

It is unnecessary to pass in review all the celebrities of the rising Methodism: let us observe only that the Western people preserve ever a pious remembrance of the devoted evangelists who summoned them to a Christian life. Not all, it must be confessed, were men so wise and remarkable as Asbury and M'Kendree; many are to be esteemed rather for their virtues and their zeal than for their knowledge or talents. Methodism had not then time or the means for bringing out an educated ministry; it could only use the elements at its command. The spirit of propagandism made of each convert another evangelist; the belief that God speaks alike to all hearts, and that all may at any moment receive an inspiration from heaven, rendered acceptable the services of whoever felt himself called to preach. It could, moreover, be expected only of men born in the West, and familiar with its hardships, to confront the fatigues and privations of so laborious a ministry. Some of those preachers were, indeed, half savages, quite lost when they found themselves in the presence of civilization. Here is an example; the scene is laid in the house of the Governor of Ohio:

It was the custom in those days to eat awhile before the tea and coffee were dished out. Said Sister Tiffin to Brother Axley, "Will you have a cup of tea or coffee?" He asked her if she had any milk. She answered, "Yes." "Well, sister," said he, "give me some milk, for they have nearly scalded my stomach with tea and coffee, and I don't like it." I really thought the Governor would burst out into loud laughter, but he suppressed it; and I thought I must leave the table to laugh; but, casting my eye again at Sister Tiffin, she frowned, and shook her head at me, which helped me very much.

When we went up to bed, said I, "Brother Axley, you surely are the most uncultivated creature I ever saw. Will you never learn any manners?"

Said he, "What have I done?"

"Done!" said I; "you gnawed the meat off your chicken, holding it in your fingers; then whistled up the dog, and threw your bone down on the carpet; and more than this, you talked right at the Governor's table, and in presence of Sister Tiffin, about scalding your stomach with tea and coffee." He burst into tears, and said, "Why did you not tell me better? I didn't know any better."

Next morning, when we awoke, he looked up and saw the plastering of the room all round. "Well," said he, "when I go home I will tell my people that I slept in the Governor's house, and it was a stone house too, and plastered at that."

Having been raised almost in a cane-brake, and never been accustomed to see any thing but log-cabins, it was a great thing for him to behold a good house and sleep in a plastered room. But I tell you, my readers, he was a great and good minister of Jesus Christ. He often said, a preacher that was good and true had a trinity of devils to fight, namely, superfluous dress, whisky, and slavery; and he seldom ever preached but he shared it to all three of these evils like a man of God.

Preachers like Axley furnished good occasion for ridicule to the *Yankees*; that is, the emigrants from New England, a people of glib tongues, eager for controversy, and who brought to the West all the refined heresies which were provoked by Puritanism and every sort of philosophy. It was no small matter for a poor backwoods preacher, furnished only with his Bible, to hold up against all these sharp wits ready with their sophistries. Thus one of the preachers confessed that the conflict with Unitarianism, Universalism, and all the *isms* of the East, had been the best school for him, and had contributed more than aught else to his readiness in argument. If the educated emigrants affected a certain disdain for the Methodist preachers, it was not so with the mass, who beheld with great favor these rude and vigorous men showing traits and leading a life similar to that of their own. Did they not endure privations and discomfort? Were they not compelled to sleep on the ground, to be satisfied with a morsel of bread, or sometimes to dispense with even this? Did not the preachers wear, like themselves, coarse stuff woven in the cottage? and was not the hand of charity often called upon to repair or replace these garments, torn by the roadside thorns? When the emigrant in his poor cabin saw emerging from the forest, seated on his emaciated horse, a man of sun-burnt hue, who bore the marks

of fatigue, his garments, perhaps, still dripping with the water of the river he had just crossed, and when he found that the man, after having asked to sleep beneath his roof and to offer prayer with him, then spoke to him in the simple and expressive language of the people, with its familiar images and natural persuasiveness, his heart readily opened to the stranger and to his words. The well-endowed minister who, in the neighboring town, gave out every Sabbath to his congregation a formal sermon, might indeed be a great scholar; but the preacher in home-spun clothes, who often had not a dollar in his pocket, but who knew well enough how to find the way to human hearts, that was, indeed, the man of God.

So it was, that when, at the end of half a century, the settled Churches of the Atlantic States began to pay some attention to the spiritual wants of the West, and sought now some recruits upon the banks of the Mississippi, their efforts were but moderately appreciated by the people. These regarded themselves as insulted when they were addressed as being less truly Christians or less intelligent than the *Yankees*. Read this lively satire upon the Eastern preachers :

About this time there were a great many young missionaries sent out to this country to civilize and Christianize the poor heathen of the West. They would come with a tolerable education, and a smattering knowledge of the old Calvinistic system of theology. They were generally tolerably well furnished with old manuscript sermons, that had been preached, or written, perhaps a hundred years before. Some of these sermons they had memorized, but in general they read them to the people. This way of reading sermons was out of fashion altogether in this Western world, and of course they produced no good effect among the people. The great mass of our Western people wanted a preacher that could mount a stump, a block, or old log, or stand in the bed of a wagon and, without note or manuscript, quote, expound, and apply the word of God to the hearts and consciences of the people. The result of the efforts of these Eastern missionaries was not very flattering; and although the Methodist preachers were in reality the pioneer heralds of the cross throughout the entire West, and although they had raised up numerous societies and Churches every five miles, and notwithstanding we had hundreds of traveling and local preachers accredited and useful ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, yet these newly-fledged missionaries would write back to the old States hardly any thing else but wailings and lamentations over the moral wastes and destitute condition of the West.

These letters would be read in their large congregations, stating that they had traveled hundreds of miles and found no evangelical minister, and the poor perishing people were in a fair way to be lost for the want of the bread of life; and the ignorant or uninformed thousands that heard these letters read would melt into tears, and their sympathies be greatly moved when they considered our lost and heathenish state, and would liberally contribute their money to send us more missionaries, or to support those that were already here. Thus some of these missionaries, after occupying our pulpits and preaching in large and respectable Methodist congregations, would write back and give those doleful tidings. Presently their letters would be printed, and come back among us as published facts in some of their periodicals.

Now, what confidence could the people have in such missionaries, who would state things as facts that had not even the semblance of truth in them? Thus I have known many of them destroy their own usefulness, and cut off all access to the people; and, indeed, they have destroyed all confidence in them as ministers of truth and righteousness, and caused the way of truth to be evil spoken of. On a certain occasion, when these reports came back known to contain false statements, the citizens of Quincy called a meeting, mostly out of the Church, and after discussing the subject pledged themselves to give me a thousand dollars per annum, and bear all my traveling expenses, if I would go as a missionary to the New England States and enlighten them on this and other subjects of which they considered them profoundly ignorant. But, owing to circumstances beyond my control, I was obliged to decline the acceptance of their generous offer.

If it had been consistently in my power, how gladly and willingly would I have undertaken this labor of love, and gloriéd in enlightening them down East, that they might keep their home-manufactured clergy at home, or give them some honorable employment better suited to their genius than that of reading old musty and worm-eaten volumes! If this matter is rightly looked into it will astonish every well-informed man to see the self-importance and self-complacence of these little home-manufactured fellows. If they would tarry at Jericho till their beards were grown out, it certainly would be more creditable to themselves and to all others concerned, and especially to the cause of God.

The model of a Western preacher is the very man whose words I have just quoted, namely, Peter Cartwright, or, as he is called throughout the Mississippi Valley, *Uncle Cartwright*. From his memoirs I have already borrowed more than one extract.*

* The citations from Cartwright's Autobiography in these pages are taken directly from the original.

ARTICLE IV.—SIN.

THE most appalling fact of this universe is sin. So far as this race is concerned, it is the most universal and momentous, the most stubborn and overwhelming. It is that round which ceaselessly circles thought, action, character, destiny. It haunts us like our shadow, mocks us in our pleasures, sits with us when we sit at meat, enters into our most secret thoughts. It is present with us even when we would do good, stirring within us a fearful looking-for of fiery indignation and judgment. It reaches every thing: our joys, our treasures, our fondest ambitions—alas! “the trail of the serpent is over them all.”

It seems to the writer that one of our chiefest needs at present is a profounder doctrine, a more radical and heart-searching teaching concerning this matter of sin. We are drifting away from the old landmarks. Conviction is dying out. Conscience, so to speak, is becoming atrophied. A subtle rationalism is imperceptibly pervading the community, foiling the arrows of truth, and rendering much of the preaching of none effect.

WHAT IS SIN?—It is no mere infirmity, or misfortune, or physical distemper. Social science can never medicine to cure. Were it a mere weakness, and, as such, amenable to treatment at the hands of the humane, conscience would its never bear witness against it. There is a radical distinction between mere physical frailty, or a mere physical misdemeanor, and a moral one. The former ends with ourself; the latter stands related to a higher tribunal. Concerning the former, Conscience utters no voice. Concerning the latter, whatever the extenuating circumstances, she thunders of a broken law and an offended God. The offender, whatever the pretext under which the act was performed, is convicted, not of any mere indiscretion, or of an imprudence, but of *sin*—of positive guilt—of downright turpitude. The materialism, therefore, that can see in “sin” only one of the “ills that flesh is heir to;” the rationalism that fain would see in it a negative good, an evil in appearance only,

but really and in itself the necessary means to a good end, and, therefore, a good, do violence to the universal and unequivocal testimony of conscience.

1. The first distinctive feature of sin is, it is an offense against God. The only way to determine the essential character of sin is to discuss it as a fact of individual experience—to inquire what is known concerning it within the sphere of every man's consciousness. And the testimony of the conscience of the race, as such, is to the effect that sin consists in an offense against, or a want of conformity to, the known will of God. "Whosoever committeth sin," says the Apostle John, "transgresseth also the law: for sin is the transgression of the law." What law? Any mere arbitrary law, a simple rule of action prescribing the appropriate means for the attainment of a given end? No. It is a law revealing and affirming itself in our consciousness, and carrying with it the seal of divine authority; a law asserting itself as an ultimate and unconditional law of rectitude, and hence, in itself, essentially and absolutely good; a law inseparable from our very idea or conception of God as the supreme good, prescribing for all rational beings, not immediately rules of outward conduct, but ends—rather, the rightful and ultimate ends at which they are to aim. To transgress the requirements of this law, revealed, as we have seen, and more or less clearly according to the heed we give to it, in our consciences, and taking cognizance, as it were, and determining the character of our purposes and the ends we propose to ourselves, or to aim at ends opposed to those which this law proposes as absolutely good—*this is sin*; that evil and bitter thing which the soul recognizes in the oppressive sense of guilt and remorse.

2. Because thus an offense against, and in the sight of, an infinitely pure and holy God, sin, in the next place, as a fact of experience interpreted in the light of our own consciences, and independent of speculative theories, appears to be truly and unconditionally evil. That is to say, it is evil in itself, is inherently evil, and only evil, no conceivable circumstances or relations being able to convert it into any thing else. It is on this account that, whatever its accompaniments or consequences, unlike mere physical evil, or that evil whose character depends wholly on outward relations, moral evil is ever the

occasion of self-reproach and remorse, simply as evil. The severest and most painful evils of an outward and physical nature may be the means and necessary condition of our highest good, and as such we may rejoice in and thank God for them. But who would ever think, nay, dare to thank God that he had been guilty of sin? Your sinful intentions, you say, have been overruled, and made instrumental for the accomplishment of desirable ends. What of that? Do your intentions, as moral acts, therefore appear any the less evil? or does this pretext in the least diminish your sense of guilt and of the inherent evil of sin? Whether well-grounded or otherwise, can the belief or the assumption just referred to in the least alleviate the sentence of condemnation which conscience passes upon the commission of sin? Ah! the one fatal condition in all such cases is, we ourselves know what our acts are, as opposed to our sense of duty, and contrary to that holy law revealed in the conscience of every man; and on this account it is that those acts become unqualifiedly and malignantly evil, and we ourselves ill-deserving transgressors of the law of God, and exposed to the righteous judgment, not only of our own consciences, but of Him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity.

3. Another essential, characteristic element of sin is, the purpose of the agent. Considered apart from the purpose of the agent, the motive or design of an intelligent, responsible being, acts have no moral, but only an outward and physical, character. They cannot be said properly to be either right or wrong. Thus, the killing of a man becomes murder only upon the imputation of a malice prepense. And our Saviour, meantime, goes so far as to affirm, that if we but cherish the malicious purpose, and lack only the outward occasion or opportunity to carry it into effect, we are already, in the sight of conscience and of God, guilty of murder. Except, then, as contemplated in a living union with our own moral being, and grounded in our own purposes and inward principles as good or evil, we have no concern with any act in regard to a supposed moral character. Indeed, unless we can impute it wholly to our own causative agency, and recognize it as truly and properly our own, how can we hold ourselves responsible for, or condemn ourselves for, the commission of any given

evil act? A sense of guilt and of condemnation necessarily implies, in regard to our conduct, that we condemn what was truly our act and performed under the condition of a responsibility for the deed. It is utterly incompatible with any proper sense of guilt to refer our conduct to whatever cause we may conceive, out of ourselves, as efficiently producing it. "I ordained their freedom," says man's Maker in the "Paradise Lost," "they themselves ordained their fall." When conscience speaks at all, it tells us not only that we have transgressed the law of righteousness, but that we ought not to have done so, might not have done so, and hence are personally and wholly accountable for the evil. If it were possible wholly to divest ourselves of the sense of responsibility for our evil purposes and deeds by any speculative notions which we may form in respect to the nature of our moral agency, such an effect must necessarily be produced by every system which refers our moral principles and acts to the agency of any cause or motive out of ourselves. Divesting us of our free agency, in the eminent sense of that term, according to which our moral purposes and acts have their true and proper origin in our own being, such systems, of course, divest us at the same time of all real accountability, and make the sense of guilt contradictory and delusive. Sin, in that case, instead of a positive evil originating in ourselves and opposed to God, ceases at once, and of necessity, to be the evil thing which, in the simplicity of our conscientious convictions, we had taken it to be, and becomes simply an outward and incidental affection, or, at best, only a means to an end. Only, then, by the assumption of an absolutely free and responsible will can the true character of sin be interpreted and understood.

Finally, our sense of sin—of that inward moral evil for which we find ourselves responsible—is not limited to our immediate and distinctly conscious purposes, but extends to the secret and, it may be, unconscious principle from which they spring. We talk a great deal about motives. No matter what the outward motive or occasion, it is always by virtue of the moral state of the heart that these external considerations have the power to become motives, prompting the thief to his midnight plunder, or the murderer to the assassination of his victim. But, says one, I had supposed that, whatever the

inward drift of character, we were responsible only for our immediate and conscious purposes; or, if you please, for such tendencies, impulses, intentions springing from that inward principle as we voluntarily approved or adopted, or consciously refused to resist. Be not deceived. However we may imagine ourselves irresponsible, or infer from a course of reasoning, however plausible or well intended, that our minds are swayed and our purposes controlled, either by the force of motives acting from without as a necessary cause, or by an inward and almost, if not quite, unconscious drift of being, a fully-awakened conscience will promptly break through all these sophistries, sweep away all these hollow devices and refuges of lies, and tell the deluded soul, in terms which it cannot gainsay, that it is out of his own evil heart that has originated and come forth this guilty purpose and this wicked act. The votary of a lawless ambition is responsible not merely for the particular acts which he purposes and commits, but for the ambition, the wrong principle itself. But he may be insensible of it. No matter; it is his business to be sensible of it. Whatever principle of action manifests itself within us as directing and controlling our purposes, if in opposition to that law which prescribes the ultimate and absolute end at which we ought to aim, we instinctively, on perceiving, recognize it as wrong, and impute the same to ourselves as sin; nor do we feel our responsibility or guilt the less when we find such wrong principles so deeply seated that, though they have acquired entire control over us, our minds, in consequence, have become quite blinded to all right views of truth and duty. Look at that man of business, with his whole mind occupied and all his thoughts absorbed in the accumulation of wealth. His ordinary consciousness extends only to the immediate purposes and occupations of the day. Of the deeper principle characterizing these, working in him and shaping all his ends, he is, perhaps, for the time wholly unconscious. Shall we say that, therefore, this man is excusable for his blindness and insensibility? Can his unconsciousness of that worldly, selfish principle that thus, by its pervading, controlling influence, distinctly marks the whole character of that man, be plead in extenuation of his guilt? Would it not be a more natural thing to say, that man ought not to be thus

unconscious of the deeper and dominant impulses of his being, of the law and obligations of duty, of his higher destiny as a rational and moral being? and will not his own conscience, whenever he is awakened to a sense of its admonitions, reproach him for the neglect of other, and higher, and more momentous duties? Experience, I am sure, warrants the assertion, that whenever awakened to a deeper knowledge of ourselves, and made conscious of the presence of these wrong principles of action, we are constrained to feel, not only that we are responsible for their character, but are justly chargeable with it as an evil, in the view of conscience and of God—as a deep and radical evil, affecting our essential characters as accountable beings, and constituting us sinners in the sight of God.

First. In the light of the foregoing teaching, we can understand how it is, that in proportion as we have a practical knowledge of our own hearts, as manifested in the light of truth, we shall be constrained to humble ourselves. Before human tribunals, and having reference only to the conventional rights and duties of civil society, we may stand upon our integrity, and lay claim, perhaps, to virtuous and upright intentions. We may discourse, too, of the exalted rank and dignity allotted us among the creatures of this lower world, and with good reason render thanks to God for the high destiny to which we were formed in the divine purpose. But when we look into ourselves and ask what have been our purposes, consider what is demanded by a law which is holy and spiritual, place ourselves before Him who searcheth the heart, we can only say, God be merciful to us, sinners! In proportion to the increasing brightness of that divine light which shines within us, dissipating all self-flattering delusions by exposing in their true character the motives and principles that govern us, we shall become self-abased. Such has been the experience of the most eminently godlike and holy men in every age. "I have heard of thee," says the ancient patriarch, "by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth thee: wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."

Second. We cannot shun responsibility by abiding in darkness. We cannot escape the consequences of evil principles lurking within us by remaining in ignorance of what they are.

It is enough for us that we ought not to be ignorant of ourselves, but to walk in the clear light of divine truth, and to keep consciences void of offense. "It is," says another, "the express purpose and effect of divine truth, and of the holy law of God, to make known to us our true character, and to bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and to make manifest the counsels of the heart." "But," says one, "if a person only be sincere, must he not be esteemed guiltless whatever the nature or tendency of the maxims practiced?" We may well inquire, What is to be understood by "sincerity" here? Is it that easy-going, slipshod thing usually had in mind when this quite popular, but very specious, plea is made? There is a vast deal of juggling with this word "sincerity." It is made to cover and disguise an amazing amount of sophistry. Be not deceived. No sincerity consisting in a mere meaning to do, a mere seeming to be right, can ever save one. "There is a way that seemeth to be right, but the end thereof is death." The only "sincerity" that can ever be successfully plead in extenuation of one's ignorance or insensibility is that which has taken the form of earnest conviction—conclusions wrought out through agonizing struggles and fierce conflicts.

Thirdly. Nothing, as a principle of action, but righteousness can save character. What is your highest motive? Is it the desire of happiness, or to go to heaven? That will never do. Is there not reason to fear that the character and purpose of the Gospel are exposed to grievous misapprehension from a too exclusive reference to the natural desire for happiness, too exclusive appeals to motives of self-interest, in the exhortations and instructions from the pulpit, over that simple exhibition of divine truth calculated to awaken a consciousness of sin and of the obligation to be holy? True, our Saviour and his apostles sometimes, nay, often, address themselves to the interests, the hopes, and the fears of men; nor can any one doubt that, to arouse men from the lethargy and false security of sin, this is necessary and proper. But as the highest motive by which the good man should be governed, and as a principle of action on which the awakened sinner can safely rest, it is authorized neither by conscience nor the word of God. Many have been the slurs flung at Christianity by those who have represented it as appealing only to motives of self-interest; and many men,

it is quite possible, of strong minds, and not wholly regardless of truth and duty, perceiving but too readily that these are not the highest grounds of moral action, have been alienated from the doctrines and duties of Christianity by being led to misconceive it as a system which appealed only to mercenary motives, to the fears of punishment and hopes of reward in a future life. An old writer has said that "so much occasion is sometimes given for men to fall into this fatal error, that one might almost be tempted to wish, according to a fable of one of the Christian fathers, for the annihilation of both heaven and hell, in order that men might serve God from pure love, or from naked principle, without fear of punishment or hope of reward."

The most ardent religious devotee, therefore, if his highest motive be only to serve a human ecclesiasticism or to get to heaven; if his conscience, at best, be only an ecclesiastical conscience, and his highest aim to accommodate himself to, or to heed the behests of, certain ecclesiastical superiors, is, as yet, not only in bondage, but in sin. Was not just this Paul's condition previous to his conversion? His "good conscience" was only an ecclesiastical conscience, one cultivated and kept simply by the faithful observance of all the ordinances and requirements of his Church. If, while yet "breathing out threatening and slaughter" against the infant Christian Church, he "verily thought he was doing God's service"—was in the path of duty—it could only have been in this low ecclesiastical sense. There can be no doubt but that, in his secret soul, Paul had his misgivings as to the strict righteousness of that persecuting business; misgivings that finally culminated so gloriously on his way to Damascus, bursting, at the first prick of the accuser's voice, into, "What, Lord, wilt thou have me to do?" Nay, we are not surprised that when Paul came thus to have his mind fully opened to the light of divine truth, and thereby to become deeply conscious of the inward sources in which his former purposes had had their origin, his conscience unqualifiedly condemned them as evil—bore witness that, though hitherto he had been but dimly, doubtfully conscious of them, those principles of action yet ought not to have been.

Righteousness, we repeat, is the only principle that will hold

as a safe and saving groundwork of character, both as an immediate rule of outward conduct and as the rightful and ultimate end at which we are to aim. Does the skeptic, failing to apprehend many of the spiritual doctrines of the Gospel, yet adopt as his supreme motive the desire, the purpose, to be and to do right in the sight of God? Then must he be saved, though as by fire. Is the religious devotee actually actuated by this same highest of motives? Then, even though a persecuting fanatic, (albeit it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive of such a case,) he must be accounted not only guiltless, but holy.

The doctrine said to have been recently enunciated by Dr. Goss, Roman Catholic Bishop of Liverpool, indicating a marvelous stretch of Christian liberality and bad "churchmanship" for a Roman prelate, evidently cannot be gainsaid. Speaking of us Protestants, he is reported to have said: "Though they reject the ordinance of the Catholic Church, yet if they are sincere in their belief, and follow the light as far as God has given it to them, I believe that the Almighty will have regard to their sincerity of belief, and that, if they have a real and true sorrow for sin, it will suffice for their salvation."

Lastly. On this ground, and with this view, we can in some measure apprehend that lost condition, the extent and malignity of the evil, the depth and hopelessness of the ruin, from which, in the boundless love of God, his Son came to redeem us. If we are not only poor and miserable in ourselves, but guilty of rebellion against God and of opposition to his holy law; if we are not only cursed and consumed by the physical consequences of transgression, but are under just condemnation of conscience for sin, and are hereby exposed to its righteous and unmeasured penalty, we may apprehend, in some degree, how "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." In a word, if we so feel the evil of sin as a principle affecting our inmost and most essential character, and bringing us into bondage to the law in our members, which is the law of selfishness, as to realize the necessity of some higher principle than belongs to our enslaved natural will to overcome and subdue its malignant power, then shall we be prepared practically to receive

the doctrine that we must be born again, and to hail with joy and thanksgiving the proffered aids of any spiritual power promising to deliver us from this dominion of sin and death and to restore us to spiritual and eternal life. That very power, happily, resides in Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of all grace. Uncounted myriads have testified, and are now testifying, that Jesus Christ has power on earth to forgive sins; that God is in Christ reconciling the world unto himself. The true end and purpose of the Gospel is to eradicate and subdue that self-seeking principle or tendency of the natural will which, as opposed to the law of love or the law of the Spirit, must be accounted essentially evil, and by the power of divine truth, and the aids of that Spirit which always accompanies and abides in the truth, to impart to, or implant within, us a higher and spiritual principle of obedience to the divine law, and thus truly recreate us in righteousness and true holiness, and restore in us forever the ruins of the fall.

ART. V.—THE CHRISTIAN PASTORATE.

The Christian Pastorate: Its Character, Responsibilities, and Duties. By DANIEL P. KIDDER, D.D., Author of "A Treatise on Homiletics," "Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil," etc. Pp. 569. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1871.

WHEN Christ "ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men;" and among these divine gifts for the completion of all things we find that of Pastors and Teachers, the two offices frequently in one person. When a man is divinely appointed to any given work, he may expect that work to afford him enough of labor and enough of reward; and the Christian minister finds that his office is no sinecure, his labor no insignificant thing, and his reward in proportion to his faithfulness and efficiency in his calling. While God calls men to the work of the ministry, and grants them abundant evidence of that call, he does not furnish them with the qualifications they can themselves obtain. While the promise, "Lo, I am with you alway," is freely given, yet the man of God is not perfect, nor thoroughly furnished unto all good works by that single promise. There is a preparation

necessary, and there are many things to be learned, and some things to be suffered, before the Lord's anointed can show himself to be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. Many ministers can be found to-day who have been divinely called, but who have not honestly obeyed that call by proper education and preparation. If Jesus needed the discipline of the wilderness and the purification of suffering, how much more do we need all preparation that can aid us in battling against the fearful numbers and deadly hatred of our vigilant foes. If, then, something besides the divine afflatus is needed, something more human, it is well that some competent man should give to the Church such directions and assistance as may be needed for the successful accomplishment of the great work of saving men from their sins. We know of no man more fully qualified for aiding and instructing young ministers in their grand vocation than Dr. Kidder, whose recent work is now under review. Few boys become successful teachers of a district school before they are fourteen years of age; and comparatively few men are found who are at once good preachers, successful teachers, and excellent pastors. Dr. Kidder is one of those few, and from his fourteenth year he has been unconsciously preparing himself for the making of just such a book as is now offered to the world. Dr. Kidder's arduous and successful labors as a pastor, missionary, editor of Sunday-school publications, and theological professor, certainly eminently fit him for speaking *ex cathedrâ* upon nearly all the duties and responsibilities that a Christian minister may meet in a long time of service. As is quite natural, we find in this book the author's own plan of work, such as he carried out as far as possible in his own pastoral life; and while it is in some sense a statement of his own practice, yet it may serve as a guide to those who are, or intend to be, ministers of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It will be observed that the book is not entitled the "*Methodist*," but the "*Christian*" Pastorate, and there was evidently a design in this caption; and the contents of the work show, clearly, that all pastors can find in its pages food for thought and rules for a successful ministerial life. The needs and desires of all people are very similar, and the method used by any successful pastor, in any one denomination, would make him a

success in any other congregation. If a man is a fine speaker, a superior orator, he will be prized for his talent by any community; if he is an excellent expositor, a clear-headed and warm-hearted minister, he will be welcome among any people; and if he is a faithful, tender, efficient pastor, any Church will love him and delight in his ministrations. So that the instructions, advice, and experience given by our author can well be used by ministers of all denominations, and thus the book ceases to be a denominational one, and it rightfully appeals to Christian ministers every-where for circulation and study. It is almost needless to say any thing concerning the style of our author, as his writings are so well known to the readers of the *Quarterly*. This much we will venture to say, that while Dr. Kidder rarely enters the region of real eloquence, he also rarely falls below the standard of correct writing. His style is unusually clear, and generally direct; and he is a master of pure English, although occasionally we find repetitions of thought that mar the purity of the rhetoric, and in a few cases there is an undue mingling of subjects. These imperfections are easily accounted for, when we remember the habits of the teacher, and reflect that the one who teaches successfully must repeat his words and ideas until the scholar grasps and holds the thought presented. Thus, we will find that our author occasionally very naturally bends, if he does not break, some of the rules usually insisted upon by precise writers. Yet there are some passages of real beauty and power, where the didactic style can safely be laid aside, as in pages 38 and 39. One of the chief excellences of this work is the constant reference to Holy Writ, and nearly every debatable question is settled by direct quotation from God's word. In this way we have a perfect mine of wealth, and the positions taken are so fully established by divine authority that but little remains to be questioned or opposed.

The General Introduction, of twenty-eight pages, rapidly but clearly sketches the New Testament ideal of the Christian ministry, and investigates the primeval origin of sacrifices and their design. It also discusses the necessity of faith, the origin, diffusion, and consequences of idolatry, and brings the reader down through the types, shadows, and ceremonies of Jewish priesthood and Mosaic dispensation, until he is found face to face with the

ministerial character of Christ; and then Jesus, as prophet, teacher, priest, and king, is held up to the gaze of the Church and ministry. Rarely does an Introduction cover so much ground and do it so well. In these opening pages we have the key-note to the whole book; and as Christ is the great model, so is he held up faithfully, throughout nearly every page, as the one for whom we are to labor, and by whom we are to have victory in all our conflicts here, and final triumph when done with earth. Our author finds in the Lord Jesus Christ the "sole and authoritative head of his own Church," and in him discerns "the inherent and legal right of prescribing whatever ordinances or offices were necessary to the extension and perpetuation of the Church in the world."—P. 53. The full and exhaustive proofs of this position are carefully drawn from the Scriptures, and every point is completely guarded by appropriate quotations. In the very inception of the apostolic idea of a Christian ministry the need of a Christian pastorate was found. Wherever sheep were to be brought into a fold or fed a pastor was needed, and Christ's instructions to his disciples were exceedingly definite on this point. Such commands as "Feed my sheep," "Feed my lambs," mean nothing less than an intense love of souls, to be manifested by such care and provision for the flock that none shall be lost through the neglect of the overseers. In elaborating this idea of preparing to care for the flock, it is not strange that our author inserts Mosheim's comment on schools of instruction for young ministers, or biblical institutes, as we term them; for the writer has been and is so closely identified with such schools, that, quite naturally, he can indorse nearly every thing looking toward the education of ministerial licentiates. He does not, however, insist with Mosheim that Paul and Timothy had charge of training schools, and that a part of their duties was the preparing of young men for the care and government of the Churches. Perhaps no portion of Dr. Kidder's book is of more interest or importance than that devoted to the discussion of the ministerial call. This he examines through two chapters, and three practical questions are asked and answered: (1) In what manner does God call his ministers? (2) How may an individual certainly know that he is called of God to the ministry?

(3) By what signs may the Church be satisfied of the divine call of a ministerial candidate?—P. 107. Some of us who are pastors know full well how we struggled, in years gone by, with doubts and fears; and we know, too, how often young men have come to us for light, and advice, and instruction on the questions asked above. Eternity alone can reveal the hours of mental anguish, the tears, the groans that have fallen to the lot of some who have become flaming heralds of the cross. In some cases importunate prayer has seemingly availed nothing in the settlement of this question, because, perhaps, God has given us certain tests by which we may determine for ourselves whether we are called of him to the office and work of the ministry or not. These tests are so clearly defined in these two chapters that almost any one with the ordinary illumination of the Holy Spirit can walk in the path of duty, free from harassing doubts and anxious fears.

The presentation of the historical view of the ministerial call very conclusively shows that a divine command to the work of the ministry was recognized in the Old Testament Scriptures, and that spiritual agencies were largely employed in the propagation of religion in the times of the Mosaic and prophetic dispensations. But passing from what we find taught between the time of Adam and Malachi, we are brought at once to the practice of the Apostolic Church. When we consider the call and appointment of Matthias, of the seven deacons, of the elders of the Church, and especially the amazing miracle displayed in the arrest, conversion, and call of him of Tarsus, who can longer question God's direct interference in the appointments of our lives? If so be that the Holy Ghost needs witnesses of a certain type, and peculiarly adapted to a peculiar work, why doubt that a divine call is given to that work? It is really unthinkable that God should need special men for a special work, and yet be either unable or unwilling to notify such men unmistakably of his purposes and plans. He who carefully studies the ecclesiastical history of the last eighteen centuries will see too many traces of the divine management, too many clear evidences of the hand of God in directing the Church and its ministers, to hesitate long about the *theory* of a divine call to the high and holy work of the Christian ministry. But leaving the historical view, we pass at once to the

practical aspect, or the internal call or bias toward the work of preaching the Gospel of the Son of God. Remembering that service at the altar does not constitute a priesthood, and that men are called to that service by the Holy Spirit and also by the Church, we have only to keep in mind the additional fact that God must have divers manners in which to call men into the service at the altar. This fact is admirably discussed by our author, and in this way relief will be brought to many a mind that has been in doubt because no call, like that given to Paul or Wesley, has been heard. As the Spirit deals with each person according to individual capacity or disposition, so will the call to the ministry differ as it comes to men of different minds and under different circumstances. If the Lord calls a man as he called the child Samuel, all that man has to do is to declare his readiness to hear what the Lord has to say, and an equal willingness to do whatever he commands. Usually we find there are three periods in the call to the ministry: (1) That of awakening and inquiry; (2) that of conviction, more or less clear; (3) that of settled purpose and determined action. Probably, in very many cases, the first two stages above mentioned will be practically one, as the conviction very frequently comes with the awakening. But, in many cases, the earnest seeker after God's will can find it by analyzing his mental states, by comparing his convictions with the rule as laid down in Holy Writ and as illuminated by the Spirit of truth. A careful study of this part of our author's proposition and argument will be of incalculable value to all who feel that they are, in the least, called to consider the propriety of entering upon the ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the good results to flow from this clear and forcible presentation of this important subject will not be fully seen until the day that shall declare every man's work, of what sort it is. Not only is the fact proven that God does directly call men into the work of the ministry, but the distinction between the internal and external call is also lucidly set forth. The former is said to be the divine impulse communicated directly by the Spirit, and confirmed by the providence of God. The latter is the voice of the Church. Whenever a converted man feels that the divine impulse urges him to make the calling of sinners to repentance his particular work, and when the Church adds to that impulse her voice of

approval, then may he at once begin that work, if properly prepared, and look for the promised result, which in all cases is fruit. If God gives to the minister no souls as his hire, and no seals to his ministry, the presumption amounts to a certainty that he has not understood the divine impulse, and that the Church has failed to understand what work the Lord has committed to him. It is well to say here that scores of excellent and able men are excluded from the ministry because of mistaken notions held both by them and by the Church. Some denominations think that if a man is called to preach the Gospel he can preach only as a regularly settled pastor; and thus many, who are as truly called of God as Aaron was, stifle conviction and continue in secular work, and never try to declare publicly the great doctrines of salvation. The Methodist Church is wiser than this; and hence we have a grand army of grand men, called local preachers, who can work at the bench or follow the plow for six days, and on the seventh declare to listening thousands the unsearchable riches of the kingdom of Christ. There are many honest and talented men who think that a call to preach includes a call to travel and to serve as pastor, and, hesitating to enter the traveling connection, they make shipwreck of faith and run the risk of losing their souls. If they were obedient to the heavenly vision, they would soon be found on the highways, alongside of hedges, among the poor and neglected, breaking the bread of life unto famishing hundreds as local preachers. The call to the ministry is one thing, and the call to the pastorate is another. They may often be found together, and also often separately. It is frequently considered to be almost a crime for a successful Methodist minister to locate or to cease traveling; as if a man who declines to take work at the hands of the bishop cannot, under favorable circumstances, do as much preaching and as much good—aside from mere pastoral work—outside of the itinerancy as within it. Only let the various denominations feel that local preachers can become a great power, and there soon will be a change in this particular among our sister Churches. Also let the doubter, afflicted with fear concerning his call, remember that “he that winneth souls is wise,” whether he does it on his farm or in a regularly given parish, and he will go at his divinely appointed work with a zeal that

will insure success. There are to-day hundreds of men in our connection who have ceased to travel, yet are doing more for the Church and the Saviour than they could have done in the regular pastorate.

Assuming that a man is aware of the divine call and is obedient thereunto, there arises at once the question concerning his ministerial duties, and our author is so full and so explicit upon this point that but little remains even to be inferred. He assumes, that although the minister's calling involves a vast number and a great variety of duties, yet preaching and the pastoral care generically embrace them all. (*Vide* pp. 132, 133.) While our author is probably about correct in theory, we think, as stated by us previously, that effective work can be done by the preacher without a pastoral charge. If this were not the case, our local ministry is a comparatively useless arm of service. Concerning the life-long duration of the divine call to the ministry the following views are held: "As desertion is a military crime of the highest magnitude, so an abandonment of the ministerial vocation, without the clearest indication of the divine will, should be regarded as a capital error, if not a crime, against him by whom the minister was called with a holy calling, from the just claims of which nothing less than the authority of the Captain of his salvation can absolve him."—Pp. 137, 138. Yet to cease for awhile, or even for life, from the pastoral work does not involve the charge of leaving the ministry. This brings us at once to consider the case of those having charge of colleges, periodicals, and other partly secular interests, or classes of work, lying outside of the regular pastorate. A few years since, many good men thought that no minister called of God to preach the Gospel should consent to occupy the chairs of presidents or professors in colleges, or be found in editorial rooms conducting the interests of our Church literature. Experience and the evident sanction of the Lord have vastly modified such men's opinions; and now, almost by common consent, ministers are stationed at these important posts as though they belonged to the pastorate pure. But there is still a diversity of opinion as to how far a minister may labor outside of the regular appointments and work of his conference, and yet retain his conference relation. The law in the case seems clear, and reads as follows, (*vide* Dis., page 90):

" He (the bishop) shall not allow any preacher to remain in the same station more than three years successively, except"—and here follows the list of exceptions. In this list no mention is made of postmasters, Congressmen, or editors of unofficial papers; and hence it appears clear, if they are on the conference roll and not absolutely broken down, they are outside of their legitimate work as members of a conference, and should either locate or be located. A supernumerary's status is also clearly defined, on page 108 of the Discipline, as follows: "A supernumerary preacher is one who, because of impaired health, is temporarily unable to perform effective work. Yet, under the head of supernumeraries, we find Congressmen, and editors, and insurance or other agents, doing more hard work than any station or circuit would require. Be it understood that Dr. Kidder is not responsible for the views expressed at this point; but the writer of this article is the one to praise or blame for such opinions. In our judgment there is a growing evil right here, and proper legislation is needed to maintain the integrity of the Church and her ministers in this direction. If a minister desires to retain his conference relation, so as to vote upon the character of his brethren and assist in conference elections, and be benefited by the advantages afforded by a conference home, let him pursue the work of the ministry as far as strength will permit; but when he only holds a nominal relation to the conference and is employed in work outside of conference jurisdiction, however honorable and worthy that work may be, let him locate, and let him preach as strength will allow or opportunity offer; but let no outside work be carried on under the cloak of a nominal conference appointment. No one is to understand that any objections are offered to the holding of offices of trust or profit or honor by local preachers, but simply that members of a conference should do conference work, and not use and enjoy privileges accorded by right only to such as comply with disciplinary regulations. Indeed, it is exceedingly questionable whether the word "supernumerary" is not a misnomer, and whether the Church would not be far better off if there were but two classes of ministers entitled to a conference relation, namely, effective and supernumeraries. Ordained men, and men of power, are constantly needed in the local ranks; and he who cannot consent to take

an appointment at the hand of the bishop, preferring to engage in some lucrative or congenial business, should at once have his name stricken from the conference roll, and as an ordained local preacher do battle for the Lord according to his own judgment and preferences.

But we must return to the book under review, and upon examination we find the author orthodox and Methodistic with reference to class-meetings; and it would be well for the Church if ministers and members would heed the advice and instructions here given concerning so important an arm of service in our denomination. To the younger class of ministers, the chapter on the personal duties of a pastor will be of untold value. The suggestions relative to exercise and the proper kinds of recreations are to the point, or at least pointed. After mentioning the exercises indulged in by William Jay and Dr. Dempster, and stating that others have preserved their vigor by riding, walking, or rowing, the following question is propounded: "But who ever heard of such a result from a clergyman's dawdling over a game of croquet?" Echo answers: Who? It is indeed difficult to imagine our bishops, or such like men, busily engaged in driving painted balls through iron hoops with painted mallets—playing billiards on the ground. But "*De gustibus non disputandum*" will be quoted by many who love the manly sport of croquet, and the game will go on. As to the use of newspapers and books, and the plan for the distribution of the minister's time, the hints here given by our author will be of great value to the sincere inquirer after light and knowledge. Many a promising young man has been lost to the Church for want of proper teaching in his earlier ministerial days. So many of our presiding elders either cannot or will not properly instruct the "boys" placed under their care, that it becomes an imperative necessity to place such a book as "*The Christian Pastorate*" within reach of all, and this work should by all means be placed in the list of conference studies. There is nothing that equals it in its department.

Inasmuch as young ministers (in some cases, the younger the better) are now demanded by our city charges, it is well that a master should furnish them such hints and helps as are found in the book under notice; for not only with reference to the library and study do we find directions, but also a careful

consideration of the practical duties of the pastoral life. A faithful pastor always has a loving and faithful people; and usually a minister succeeds just in proportion as he touches the lives of his people *in* his every-day life. A splendid orator, a fine logician, a cultivated mind, will attract in some measure; but to attract and fasten with hooks of steel, the preacher in charge must also be a pastor. The houses must be visited, the people must be known, and their wants and wishes must be heard. Pastoral visiting, well performed, is hard work, mentally and physically. It requires exertion, skill, thought, patience, and a good degree of piety. But it pays. The various methods of performing this important work are noticed in our book, and the only one that is really effective is recommended. Many pastors resolve to visit their flocks, and then re-resolve until the year has gone, and at last find that resolutions took the place of duty performed. Many begin the work well and energetically; but finding so many persons absent, or engaged at the washtub, or with surroundings not pleasant to either pastor or housekeeper, they soon become disheartened and give over in despair. But let the pastor announce from his pulpit on the Sabbath the time and places of his calls, and request the presence of the whole family if practicable, and he will at once have a spur to urge him to duty, even though he may feel much disposed to lie in the shade or sit by his glowing grate. He will so arrange his visits that they shall, each day, all be in one neighborhood, thereby saving much travel; and he can be apprised of any expected absences, so that he will be saved unnecessary calls. In a large majority of cases he will find the family awaiting his coming with pleasure, due preparation having been made; and as all embarrassment is gone, the time allotted to his visit can be profitably spent, and the interview can usually be closed with a prayer that will avail more than a dozen prayers in the pulpit, for it is offered in a particular house, for particular persons, and to cover special wants otherwise utterly unknown to the minister.

A book relating to the work of the pastorate would be imperfect if no allusion were made to the manner of public worship, and this is fully discussed in these pages. In very many places where once the singing was spirited and spiritual, though not artistic, it is now devoid of spirit and spirituality,

but is rendered in the highest style of art. It is a really sad sight to witness the fathers and mothers, who used to help swell the gusts of praise that once swept over pew and pulpit until the waves of sacred song almost carried the congregation bodily into the presence of God, now stand through the singing of a hymn by the choir, while not a note may fall from their silent lips, for such time and tunes as choirs now use are not known to the veterans of the cross. Our service of song, in too many places, is a mere mockery, for it mocks God and mocks the people; and he who shall lead us into the proper use of this right arm of our former power will deserve the thanks of men and angels too. Our author makes suggestions and pleads manfully for the right kind of singing; but manifest destiny seems to be against us, and the world and the flesh and the devil have compelled the Ship of Zion to strike her colors, and to float at her mast-head a flag unknown to those who sailed in that staunch old vessel in the days of our fathers and mothers. *O tempora! O mores!* But we fear the days of the good old-fashioned lip and heart singing will hardly return in our day. *Hinc illæ lachrimæ.* Yet perchance a baptism of the Holy Ghost will set the Churches once more on the highway of spiritual song, over which so many have traveled who now stand on the "sea of glass mingled with fire," and "sing the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb!" In the matter of prayer we also need an awakening; for in how many congregations do we find the knee bowed before the Lord, or the body inclined as if in worship? Styles of dress or the arrangements of the pews oftentimes interfere with kneeling; but much oftener the spirit of devotion is wanting. When the heart is burdened, and when the desire goes out of a burdened heart for God's blessing, the knee will bow, the eye will close, the lip will move; and then, in answer to pleading prayer, the Comforter will come into the heart, filling it with joy unspeakable and full of glory. How we should plead with our congregations to show some signs of reverence, and to exhibit some desire to worship, when the throne of grace is approached by him who ministers at the altar! Here, also, our author deals plainly with the subject under consideration, and makes some valuable suggestions to the leaders of worship.

But we pass from this point to notice the radical views of our author upon a question now agitating some of our conferences. Let us quote his own words: "Not only every pastor, but every Christian minister, should be himself a pledged abstainer from every thing that intoxicates, if for no other reason than to give the weight of a consistent example on the right side. He should also be an habitual abstainer from the use of tobacco in all its forms, for the double purpose of maintaining personal purity (of the flesh and of the spirit) and of escaping the taunt of inconsistency embodied in that old rebuke, 'Physician, heal thyself.' With what effect can a smoker or a chewer of the filthy weed reprove a consumer of opium or a drinker of ardent spirits? With what confidence or hope can he preach any form of temperance or self-denial to others, when he fails to embody in his own life a consistent example of both?"—P. 506. Brave and timely words, these, and such sentiments bespeak an honest Christian minister, and our young men are safe under such a teacher if they will consent to regard his precepts. In many of our conferences no candidate is admitted who uses the weed, unless he vows to abstain hereafter. Indeed, of such importance has this question become, that, with reference to our highest Church officials, not the question, "Will the coming man drink wine?" but that other one is asked: "Will the proposed candidate, if elected, use tobacco?" If by word or work we cleanse the ministry from all filthiness of the flesh, then may we have hope of reaching with a new power our children and the world that lieth in the wicked one. From these glimpses of this book, we can readily infer that common sense, extended observation, and the fruits of much study are happily blended, making one harmonious whole that must be a lasting benefit to any and to all Churches. We must omit extended notice of the valuable suggestions relative to the pastor's wife and family, his social relations, and his relations to neighboring pastors, and close our review by commanding the author's views of revivals. In these latter days we are too prone to ignore the effects of spiritual agencies in the wonderful success of the Church in former days, when revivals were every-where looked for and enjoyed; and it is refreshing to find the men having control of our theological schools fully in accord with

our standards and the time-honored sentiments of the Church. The truth is, the Church needs such a revival to-day as will thoroughly arouse her latent energies, and make her enter upon her high calling with a zeal equal to the work she is called upon to perform. A revival is needed that will affect society powerfully, and bring to life the untold thousands of very dry bones that are lying in the valley of death. We are carefully guarding our doctrines and belief against the attacks of rationalists, and are opposing true science against science falsely so called, and there can be no fault found with our strong thinkers in this direction; but it occurs to us, that if Huxley and Bain and Darwin, "*et id omne genus*," could be brought to witness such a scene as was witnessed on the day of Pentecost, and be brought to feel the breath of the Comforter as the three thousand felt it on that day, there would be a radical change in their belief and teachings. Whether science and learning will effect that change is more than doubtful. While pleading for a high standard of ministerial education, let us teach that what we need above all is a thorough revival of genuine religion. It would cleanse our Augean stables, break up our corrupt "rings," purify the political atmosphere, and usher in that day, long prayed for, when the kingdoms of this earth shall be given to the Son as his rightful possession. Let all our learning, all our wealth, and all our efforts tend to the salvation of men from sin, and the restoration of the world to the divine favor. May he whose book we have so imperfectly reviewed live to see the good results that must flow from his teachings, and be permitted to rejoice eternally with those whom he has assisted to be successful ministers of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ!

We cannot close this review more appropriately than by quoting the author's closing sentences, concerning the rewards that await the faithful minister of the New Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ: "Among the felicities of the everlasting glory of the Redeemer, will be that of having shared the companionship of earthly toil and faith and suffering for the cross and kingdom of Jesus. By it the minister of the Gospel who shall have been faithful to his talent and his trust will be brought into perfected sympathy with the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, and the accepted ministers of the truth in all

ages. While eternity can never exhaust the delights of such a companionship, it may nevertheless be made more rapturous by the harvest home of souls who shall appear as the gathered fruit of every individual's labor. Nor will the pastor then feel that his share of triumph is limited to the direct results of his personal efforts. As Christ prayed not for his disciples alone, but for those who believe on him through their word, so each Gospel laborer may expect to share in the glorious results of all the successful labors of all who are converted through his instrumentality, and that of their successors, to the end of time. But since 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man the things which God has prepared for them that love him,' how can thought conceive or tongue utter the riches or the extent of those peculiar glories which await the sincere, the zealous, the obedient and self-denying ministers of Jesus in the world to come?"

May it be our author's lot to enjoy the reward above pictured, in all its fullness and all its duration!

ART. VI.—PREVENTION AND REFORM OF JUVENILE CRIME.

IT is no small matter that "Ginx's Baby" has attracted the eye of intelligent Christians and philanthropists of every shade of opinion; and although, in the marvelous diversity of sentiments as to the best course to be pursued with him, he is still exposed to no inconsiderable peril and suffering, yet is it a great point gained that the eye of the community has been fastened upon him. This forlorn infant is blessed with a powerful voice, and sooner or later he will make it to be effectually heard. He is an object of no little controversy now between Romanists and Protestants, union and sectarian boards, almshouse commissioners and children's emigration societies, street missions and permanent asylums, congregate institutions and family schools; but the controversy itself makes him so prominent an object that he cannot be covered out of sight by the smoke of the fight. He is in the newspapers; fills magazines originated in his interest; breaks in upon the mo-

notony of the stately quarterlies; and, like the memorable "Oliver" of "the Workhouse," although now one of the most conspicuous personages in modern fiction, is still clamoring, and not without success, for "more," and demands a far wider hearing. He is an admitted and terrible fact in modern civilization; and the only question for discussion now pertinent in reference to him is, "What *shall* we do with Ginx's Baby?" The community cannot long endure that condition of things which gives the stinging point of truth to the capital volume of satire bearing the expressive title which we have quoted, and which it has now permanently bestowed upon the neglected waifs of our city streets.* It is very evident that "Ginx's Baby" will not much longer plead in vain. That will not always be a true charge against British and American civilization which this author so nervously urges in his volume:

Your dirtiest British youngster is hedged round with principles of an inviolable liberty and rights of *habeas corpus*. You let his father and mother, or any one who will save you the trouble of looking after him, mold him in his years of tenderness as they please. If they happen to leave him a walking invalid, you take him into the poor-house; if they bring him up a thief, you whip him, and keep him at high cost at Millbank or Dartmoor; if his passions, never controlled, break out into murder and rape, you may hang him, unless his crime has been so atrocious as to attract the benevolent interest of the Home Secretary; if he commit suicide, you hold a coroner's inquest, which costs money; and, however he dies, you give him a deal coffin and bury him. Yet I may prove to you that this being, whom you treat like a dog at a fair, never had a day's, no, nor an hour's, contact with goodness, purity, truth, or even human kindness; never had an opportunity of learning any thing better. What right have you, then, to hunt him like a wild beast, and kick him and whip him and fetter him, and hang him by expensive, complicated machinery, when you have done nothing to teach him any of the duties of a citizen?

The writer answers the natural response to his question, that there are endless means of improving the lad—industrial schools, reformatories, asylums, hospitals, Peabody buildings, laws to protect factory children—by saying, "They don't reach one out of ten;" and he continues: "I do not say it can be done; but in order to transform the next generation, what we should aim at is to provide substitutes for bad homes, evil training, unhealthy air and food, dullness and terrible igno-

* "Ginx's Baby." 16mo. Strahan & Co., London. Routledge & Sons, New York.

rance, in happier scenes, better teaching, proper conditions of physical life, sane amusements, and a higher cultivation." But who is to pay for all this? "The State," he answers, "which means society, the whole of which is directly interested. I tell you, a million of children are crying to us to set them free from the despotism of a crime and ignorance protected by law."

Thus it is made evidently to appear that "Ginx's Baby" has for one of its age and circumstances a powerful voice, and will be likely to make himself heard in the long run. Mrs. Browning has caught the echo of it in her sensitive ear, and has poured it back again in affecting strains:

And well may the children weep before you!
 They are weary ere they run;
 They have never seen the sunshine, nor the glory
 Which is brighter than the sun.
 They know the grief of man, without his wisdom;
 They sink in man's despair, without his calm;
 Are slaves without the liberty in Christdom,
 Are martyrs by the pang, without the palm,
 Are worn, as if with age, yet untretrievingly,
 The harvest of its memories cannot reap,—
 Are orphans of the earthly love and heavenly,
 Let them weep! let them weep!
 They look up with their pale, sunken faces,
 And their look is dread to see,
 For they mind you of their angels in high places,
 With eyes turned on Deity!
 "How long," they say—"how long, O cruel nation,
 Will you stand to move a world on a child's heart;
 Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
 And tread onward to your throne amid the mart?
 Our blood splashes upward, O gold-heaper,
 And your purple shows your path!
 But the child's sob in silence curses deeper
 Than the strong man in his wrath."

In 1841, in his very striking discourse upon the life and character of that eminent and successful city missionary of Boston, Dr. Joseph Tuckerman, Dr. Channing utters very much the same truth in his own quiet and eloquent style. He says:

Society has hitherto employed its energy chiefly to punish crime. It is infinitely more important to prevent it; and this I say not for the sake of those alone on whom the criminal preys.

I do not think only or chiefly of those who suffer from crime. I plead also, and plead more, for those who perpetuate it. In moments of clear, calm thought, I feel more for the wrong-doer than for him who is wronged. In a case of theft, incomparably the most wretched man is he who steals, not he who is robbed. The innocent are not *undone* by acts of violence or fraud which they suffer. They are innocent, though injured; they do not bear the brand of infamous crime, and no language can express the import of this distinction. . . . What I want is, not merely that society should protect itself against crime, but that it shall do all it can to preserve its exposed members *from* crime, and so do for the sake of those as truly as for its own. It ought not to breed monsters in its bosom. If it will not use its prosperity to save the ignorant and poor from the blackest vice, then it must suffer, and deserves to suffer, from crime. If the child be left to grow up in utter ignorance of duty, of its Maker, of its relations to society—to grow up in an atmosphere of profaneness and intemperance, and in the practice of falsehood and fraud—let not the community complain of his crime. It has quietly looked on and seen him, year after year, arming himself against its order and peace; and who is most to blame when at last he deals the guilty blow? A moral care over the tempted and ignorant portion of the State is a primary duty of society.

Every movement for the relief of society from its fearful burdens of ignorance, poverty, and crime, has forced upon thoughtful minds the conviction, that the only solution of these problems is to be found in the application of radical remedies in the period of childhood. While prisons and almshouses and criminal law and discipline peremptorily call for reforms, and powerfully appeal to benevolent hearts, the best reform that can be secured in reference to penitentiaries and poor-houses is to deplete them of their occupants by saving the young from vicious and criminal courses.

The present site of one of the largest and most costly of the edifices in the country erected for the reformation of young delinquents, now a highly-cultivated garden, yielding to tillage large returns of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, was formerly partly an uninviting morass, in part a high, rugged rock, and in part the rough receptacle of the pauper dead; a scene unlovely to the eye and full of unwholesome miasmas. It was in its original state a significant symbol of the appearance and influence of the neglected classes in the community; while the recovery, productiveness, and healthfulness of the grounds, in their present condition, give a natural expression to the

result of suitable Christian cultivation in the most unpromising moral and social soils in the land.

Perhaps the first formal movement in behalf of exposed children was inaugurated by August Hermann Francke, in the German city of Halle, in 1695. It was opened on what he calls the "goodly capital" of three dollars and a half, which had been dropped, as a subscription for the poor, in a box put up for the purpose in his house. "With this," he exclaims, "I must do a great work. I will found a school for the poor with it." Francke was a fine scholar, an eloquent preacher, welcomed at the court of Frederick William I., father of Frederick the Great, of remarkable faith and devotion, and of untiring energy. Carlyle speaks of him as of a "very mournful visage;" but this could not have been true of him. He was a marvelously cheerful, hopeful, happy man, shedding sunshine upon the many thousand children that were gathered by him into his Home and saved from ruin. From such a limited beginning, as to capital, Francke, through benefactions made to him without the solicitations of an agent, finally was enabled to pile up the largest, highest, and most imposing suite of buildings in the city of Halle, where he gathered, instructed in trades, and fitted for an honest life, thousands of orphans and street beggars. Horace Mann visited it in 1843. He describes it as a "quarter of a mile long, six stories high, several apartments thick, built round an oblong court-yard." Five hundred children are at the present time gathered within its walls, while numerous industrial and eleemosynary associations also find shelter under its many roofs.

The history of its origin and progress, written by Francke himself, bears this significant title: "The most blessed footsteps of the living and reigning and faithful God, for the shaming of the unbelieving and the strengthening of the believing, disclosed through the true and circumstantial history of the Orphan-House in Halle."

Many an earnest explorer in the unfrequented paths of philanthropy has gratefully traced, for his encouragement and inspiration, the "footsteps" left upon "the sands of time" by that friend of perishing children, August Hermann Francke. John Falk, the beloved associate of Herder and Goethe, sought out these "footsteps" a hundred years later. Falk was the

son of a wig-maker of Dantzig, so poor in his youth himself that he could never forget the pangs of want; so eager for learning that he read the books he borrowed by the light of the street lamps, when the weather was so cold and his fingers so numb that he could hardly turn the leaves; so devout that when sinking under the ice, which broke beneath his skates, he was saying, as he was snatched from death by his brother: "Lord Jesus, to thee I live, to thee I die; I am thine, now and for all eternity!" He was sent to college by the town council of his native city, one of the solemn and kindly old burgomasters saying to him, as he shook hands with him and gave him his blessing: "John, you are now going hence—God be with you! You will always be our debtor, for we have adopted you and affectionately cared for you as a poor child. You must not fail to repay this debt, wherever God may hereafter lead you; and whatever may be your future destination, never forget that you were once a poor boy. And when, sooner or later, some poor child knocks at your door, you must consider that it is we, the dead—the gray old burgomaster and councilors of Dantzig—who are standing there, and you must not turn us away from your door." Sure enough, these parting words were prophetic; the poor child knocked, the old burgomaster was not forgotten, and Falk's door was opened and stood open for thousands of others to follow the steps of the first wretched youth. He became a resident of Weimar, and witnessed the awful desolation which the French army under the first Napoleon brought upon Germany. (How fearfully have these sufferings been avenged before our eyes within the last few years!) Thousands of parentless children wandered begging over the country, falling into all forms of vice and crime. Pestilence came in the train of the memorable battle at Leipsic, and added to the horrors and desolations of war. Falk followed one after another of his own children to the grave, and then, rising from the depths of his household grief, he consecrated himself to the work of succoring the unprotected youth of the land. When, in 1819, his son Edward, an interesting youth of nineteen, died, the parents and remaining children sitting in tears by his lifeless body, some one knocked at the door. "O!" exclaimed the poor mother, "if I could but see you coming in the door, my poor

Edward, but once more!" A boy of fourteen came in, saying: "You have taken pity on so many poor children from our neighborhood, do take pity on me. I have had neither father nor mother since I was seven years old." The petition which began in tears ended in sobs. "O my God!" said the weeping mother, raising her eyes to heaven, "thou still sendest us the children of strangers, whom we so willingly take in, and takest away our own!"

First establishing the precedent so successfully followed in our times by Mr. Brace, in the city of New York, he instituted a society of influential and intelligent men, called "The Friends in Need," and began to carry into effect his original purpose of simply finding homes in families and in the country for the vagrant children seeking his protection. He soon saw that it was necessary to give some preliminary training to the vicious children whom he sought to rescue from certain ruin, and in 1823 he laid the foundation of the building which still remains as the best monument to his memory.

Following the same "footsteps," and continually acknowledging indebtedness to Francke and Falk, in the German-speaking portions of Europe, over four hundred institutions have been established for the succor of exposed children, having within their custody an estimated average of twelve thousand inmates. Between forty and fifty reformatory institutions have been organized in France, and two hundred and ninety-one in Great Britain. Into the British schools of reform about twenty-three thousand youths have been gathered.

Interest in behalf of the "dangerous and perishing" classes of children in England grew immediately out of the prison reforms instituted by John Howard. The most appalling sight that benevolent men and women looked upon as they entered the prisons, which had heretofore been unvisited by Christian people, were the faces of young boys and girls who were falling into fearful depths of depravity under the tuition of adult criminals. In 1818 the London Philanthropic Society was formed for their rescue, and the first British House of Refuge for exposed and criminal children was constructed in the city of London, under the supervision of such philanthropists as the Gurneys, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, and Mrs. Frye. About the same date, after correspondence and personal con-

ference with the managers of this institution, the earliest movement for the rescue of these endangered youth was undertaken in this country, in the city of New York, chiefly under the auspices of persons connected with the Society of Friends. In 1818, such men as John Griscom, Thomas Eddy, Mayor Colden, Hugh Maxwell, and James W. Gerard, united themselves in an association for the "Prevention of Pauperism." They had proceeded but a short distance in their investigations before they were convinced that little, comparatively, could be accomplished in the great field upon which they had entered, except by instituting vigorous preventive measures. Out of these careful inquiries and discussions grew the savings banks, and the admirable public school system of the city of New York. As one of the most effectual measures for breaking up chronic poverty and crime, the association resolved itself into the "Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents," and at once addressed itself to the establishment of a house of refuge. On the first day of January, 1825, on what is now Madison Square, near where stands the elegant Fifth Avenue Hotel, in a building that had been erected as barracks for soldiers, the institution was opened with appropriate services. There were some squalid children, just gathered from the streets, present on the occasion. An address was delivered by Hon. Hugh Maxwell, then district attorney, a deeply-interested manager of the house, who is still living, and is permitted to witness the amazing results which have grown out of this small beginning. He has since addressed more than a thousand children occupying the noble structure upon the Island, which is the lineal successor of the Madison Square barracks. More than thirteen thousand have been inmates of this Refuge, and from forty to fifty thousand, it is estimated, have enjoyed the instruction and discipline of the score and a half of similar institutions which have grown out of the first successful experiment.

It is an interesting fact, that one of the chief reasons urging the minds of these early friends of reform in this country to establish a house of refuge is now one of the most pressing, open, practical questions connected with the reformation of young delinquents and criminals—how to introduce again one that has cut himself off from the confidence of the community

by an act of crime to virtuous society and productive labor. As long ago as 1803, when Edward Livingston, the father of legal and penitentiary reform in this country, was mayor of the city of New York, he was deeply impressed with the helpless condition of a youth leaving the prison without a trade, and without an opening for him in the community. "What can he do?" the Mayor asks. "He has no capital of his own, and that of others will not be intrusted to him; he is not permitted to labor; he dares not beg; and he is forced, for subsistence, to plunge anew into the same crime, to suffer the same punishment he has just undergone, or perhaps with more caution and address to escape it. Thus the penitentiary, instead of diminishing, may increase the number of offenses." He sought ineffectually to organize a society, or an institution, to provide forms of remunerative labor for such as these. It was as a refuge for young criminals of this class, among others, after the completion of their imprisonment, where they could learn a trade, gradually win back the confidence of employers and gain strength of purpose themselves, that Mr. Gerard recommended the construction of an institution, in the memorable public address which resulted in the establishment of the New York Reformatory. The movement, however, took upon itself more of a preventive character, and the effort was made rather to succor young children, and to prevent even their first imprisonment. At this day there are thousands of young men and women, under twenty, but over sixteen, (the normal limit of reform schools,) in penitentiaries. As these prisons are now conducted, their condition is, humanly speaking, hopeless. There are no persons outside the prison walls prepared to receive and encourage discharged prisoners in any considerable numbers, except their old criminal companions. These are ever ready to meet them as the door of the prison opens, and to proffer them shelter, food, and encouragement in a dishonest course. No counting-room, mechanics' shop, nor even farm labor, invites a young, discharged prisoner to earn an honest living. Respectable people hold themselves aloof. If the man will not starve he must steal. He is thus made a bitter enemy of society, and becomes desperate in the inevitability of his condition. "They will all as certainly come back here, or be sent to another prison, after their discharge, as they

live," said the warden of a penitentiary a few weeks since to the writer as we stood gazing together upon a gang of a hundred or more young lads, averaging eighteen years of age, at work lazily in a stone quarry connected with the prison. "Where else can they go?" he asked. "What place has society for them, or what plan, but to train and harden them by short sentences for the highest forms of villainy?" Houses of refuge, receiving inmates from cities and permitting mature lads to be sent to their custody, meet with the same difficulty. If the youth be placed with a farmer, or even sent to the West, he almost inevitably gravitates back to the city, and, for lack of regular employment, is soon tempted to enter upon his old courses and becomes a "revolver" in the penitentiary. The old *déteneuses* of the Refuge, having thus lost self-respect, stand ready to seize upon such boys as they have known, or learn to have been inmates of the House, and to beguile them again into their criminal ranks. How to bridge this gulf between a moderate period of detention and a permanent position in normal life has been the last problem studied in the New York House of Refuge, as it was one of the first thoughts of some of its founders, and an encouraging approach has been made to a favorable solution. By bestowing upon this class of young men a full trade in some branch of mechanical labor, permitting them before their discharge to earn a handsome outfit, and then, through the co-operation of the contractor, (it might be secured otherwise,) affording them an opportunity for work at their trade, upon good wages, under the shadow, but not restraint, of the institution, two most desirable results have been obtained. First, a marked inspiration has been manifest throughout the ranks of the older boys, and especially among those who, from *oinomania*, *kleptomania*, or sexual helplessness, have been sure to become the victims of street temptations. The prospect of accomplishing something in an honest line has awakened unwonted hope and ambition within them. In the second place, quite a number of second and third comers, lads who had been inmates of penitentiaries, very hard and unpromising cases, are now coming daily to their work, having decent boarding places, and are restrained from their old temptations by the moral forces around them and the encouragement of good wages. This promises to be one of the most hopeful measures

for diminishing the number of those who, in spite of the lessons of the Refuge, are borne down by the tide of evil influences sweeping through the streets of our cities. The true work of a reformatory is as verily to be performed outside as within its walls. It may not retain, for an undue time, an inmate within its immediate discipline; but it should always follow him with kindly supervision, and strive for his redemption, by many trials if necessary, as does the true parent, in whose place it stands. Its open doors, during his minority, should ever be his welcome shelter in all hours of peculiar temptation growing out of want.

During the quarter of a century succeeding the establishment of the New York institution, but few houses of refuge were opened in the country. Boston was the first, in 1826, to follow its example, and Philadelphia in 1828. It was not until 1835 that the interesting private Farm School for orphans and poor children was opened in the city of Boston, and afterward removed to Thompson's Island, in the harbor; and it was as recently as 1847 that the State Reform School at Westborough, Mass., began to receive its inmates. It was nearly ten years after this before these institutions began to multiply in various portions of the country.

The New York and Boston institutions attracted, in their early years, much attention on this continent and in Europe. They were both of them particularly favored in their first superintendents, who were men of original and marked abilities—Rev. Mr. Wells in Boston, and Messrs. Curtis and Hart in New York. They were scholarly men, of great personal magnetism, drawing their young families to themselves by an almost irresistible force, and greatly impressing American and foreign visitors by their reformatory power over them. There was no discussion at that early day in reference to the style of buildings or the systems of discipline, save that the latter should be chiefly moral rather than corporal, and should meet the young new-comer with a face of love rather than with a frown, and impress them rather with its mercy than its power of retribution. The earnest managers of those days took such edifices as they could obtain by the gift of the city or from individuals, and provided the best accommodations their limited means permitted. They depended rather upon intellectual,

industrial, and moral measures, and the personal assimilation of character through the agency of Christian officers and teachers, than upon material facilities. If we can rely upon the statistics of those days, we have gained but little upon them in permanent moral results. What we have secured in pecuniary endowments, noble edifices, and generous appliances, we may possibly have lost, in a degree, in enthusiastic earnestness and self-denying devotion on the part of those to whom these important institutions are intrusted.

The first institutions were constituted by benevolent individuals subscribing freely of their means, and obtaining an act of incorporation giving them legal authority over their inmates. The management was perpetuated by annual elections among themselves, without political interference, the State simply granting yearly subsidies and requiring an annual report. These institutions have been far more successful, useful, and peaceful than such of their successors as have been purely State institutions, with their trustees appointed by the executive authority, and their officers, as a consequence, constantly exposed to changes. In almost every instance of this class, at some period of its history, serious embarrassments have resulted from this policy, and the usefulness of the institution has been often greatly periled.

The true policy of the State is, by a general law like that of Great Britain, to allow a reasonable sum *per capita* to all public institutions for reform, and to encourage philanthropic men and women every-where to multiply such houses, thus developing the noblest traits and sacrifices on the part of its citizens, and bringing the opportunities of reformation into all the exposed quarters of the land. By a careful supervision, and by requiring a certain standard of sanitary, educational, industrial, and moral facilities, the State may easily be defended from any abuse of its charity.

The reports of Horace Mann, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, and of Dr. Calvin E. Stowe of visits to the very interesting and successful institution established by Dr. John Henry Wichern, in 1833, at Hamburg, Germany, of its embowered but plainly-built cottages, containing families of twelve boys or girls each, with workshops, school-house, and church, and the remarkable results which this learned and

devoted man and his warm-hearted mother had attained with some of the most depraved street-boys of the city, awakened fresh interest in the work of juvenile reform. The two valuable volumes of Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, England, upon the causes and cure of juvenile delinquency, presenting the attractive picture of the agricultural colony for boys at Mettray, in France, established under the supervision of Judge De Metz, with its separate houses for twenty boys, without walls or bars or locks, as well as new illustrations of the discipline of the Rauhe Haus under Wichern, and the imitation of the continental schools by England at Red Hill, with a full discussion of the various difficult questions involved in the training of this class of young persons, confirmed the enthusiasm awakened in many benevolent minds in reference to the reformation of young criminals and the rescue of exposed children. In 1853, the Board of Managers of the Philadelphia House of Refuge offered a premium of one hundred dollars for the best essay, and fifty dollars for the next in excellence, upon juvenile delinquency. Forty-four papers were presented, and three of them were published. The highest prize was given to Rev. Edward Everett Hale, and his essay upon the State's care of its children was particularly suggestive and impressive. The others, by Bishop Moore, of Virginia, and by an anonymous writer, approached the subject from different points, and showed how widely extended and profound was the impression that the State was not meeting its paramount obligations to its exposed and criminal youths. Just at this time, the Legislature of Massachusetts appointed a commission of learned and practical gentlemen to prepare a plan and a law for the establishment of a proposed school of reform for delinquent girls. They entered into an extensive correspondence, and presented, in 1855, to the Legislature a very full and valuable report upon the subject. They settled upon what has since been called the "family plan," breaking up the institution into separate homes of thirty girls each with their three matrons, all united under the general supervision of a male superintendent. The title of Industrial School was afterward given to it, to relieve the after-life of the inmates from any stain arising from a penal name; and upon the system proposed by the commissioners it was constructed at Lancaster,

Mass., and has been administered there for about sixteen years. It forms a pretty village scene, with its neat homes, its white-spired church, and its merry children sporting on its grounds. Nearly at the same time, Ohio commissioned thoughtful and benevolent men to elaborate a system for a State reform institution for boys. They were strongly impressed with the Massachusetts law and system of discipline, and, having made themselves familiar with the noted European establishments, they arranged the well-known State Farm at Lancaster, Ohio, with its family houses bearing their melodious names, and its novel system, in this country, of elder brothers. The conventions of managers and superintendents of reformatory institutions, held in the city of New York in 1857 and 1859, afforded favorable opportunities for practical laborers and the advanced students in the field of juvenile reform to present and compare opinions.

These various public demonstrations in behalf of exposed and criminal children were not without their natural results. Active measures—hindered indeed somewhat, but not prevented, by the war—were instituted throughout the Northern and Western States for the establishment of State and voluntary institutions for the rescue of the young. It is difficult to obtain a full report of the smaller establishments, and thus secure a clear idea of what really is doing throughout the country in this direction. Quite a number of new institutions are already projected and are in the process of construction. The “family plan,” so called, generally prevails in some modified form in the later institutions, and the sexes are trained in different schools. About the same standard of education is attained in all these Houses of Reform. The same high average as to health and low average as to the death rate, and much the same results as to the reformation of their subjects, according to such statistical tables as have been secured, seem to be reached by the majority of these institutions. But it is quite impossible satisfactorily to compare the institutions with each other. Some have younger children; some reject very hard cases; some have only such cases committed to their custody, juvenile and orphan asylums in their vicinity and children's aid societies skimming the more promising street boys for their discipline and distribution, and leaving the poorest

quality, physically and morally, for the House of Refuge; some retain their children six months, some one year, and some three; some keep a carefully-written record, and others base their moral statistics upon general impressions. There are no positive facts which enable a thoughtful person to form a safe judgment of the moral and permanent advantages which one system of juvenile discipline has over another. In many instances repeated changes in administration and inefficient men have rendered a good system helpless to work out its possible results among the inmates of a reform school. In some cases, as in the city of New York, the magistrates constantly yield to the importunity of parents, or the demands of persons having political influence, and by the occasion of flaws in warrants, or other ready devices in the use of the writ of *habeas corpus*, interrupt the efforts of managers to reform vicious youths, and rarely afford them support in withholding children from miserable homes and obtaining for them the wholesome training of the country farm or workshop.

Without doubt, however, every institution is working out benign results, and is constantly correcting its own practical mistakes. We are disposed to criticise each other somewhat severely, because no "power" has bestowed upon us the gift to see ourselves as others see us. After all our criticism, however, one class of mind works most freely and successfully under one system, and another under a different. If the great end of reforming youth is gained, by whatever humane and Christian plan it is attained, we will not enter into discouraging controversy with the reformers as to their measures.

The universal want in these institutions is a class of better educated and more devoted subordinate officers. Every person coming near these children should be an example of the Christian virtues, have special intelligence, and be of a reforming mind. The superintendents, taken as a whole, are a superior class of men. But ignorant men, and sometimes immoral men, because the salary paid for the position they occupy is small, are found in the lower offices. The oath or sneer in the hall or yard will do more injury than the chaplain can overcome in the pulpit.

Almost all of the institutions suffer for lack of well-arranged, remunerative, and somewhat brisk and hard work. This is

indispensable in reform schools for boys and girls. Other vital elements being present—such as sanitary, educational, and moral forces—the success of a reformatory institution will be measured by its wisdom in arranging its industrial discipline. The forms of labor chosen should be those that bring reasonable pecuniary returns—work that may hereafter be followed by the inmate as a trade; it should be allotted in the form of stints, not too severe, to encourage rapid labor, a lengthened period of play rewarding diligence at work; it should stand in some way related to the hour of discharge, so that the inmate will be constantly inspired to improve at his tasks; and at a certain stage it is very desirable that he should share in the pecuniary results of his work.

Effort enough is not put forth to follow and succor the child after its discharge from the Refuge, and to renew the work of reform at the school when it is necessary. The true and full influence of a reformatory cannot be safely measured by the social condition of the youth in the first years after his discharge. His falling into temptation again, and sinking back into a penitentiary even, does not prove that his training received in the Refuge has been inefficient or is lost. Do we give up all hope of an intemperate man, struggling to reform, who stumbles once, or even twice? The writer has known of repeated cases where boys from a reform school have fallen into crime, and within the cells of a prison have recalled their former instructions, and have taken courage to attempt again a virtuous life and have succeeded. We have had young men in the penitentiary seek the opportunity of coming back to the old home again, and trying once more its encouraging discipline. Even in the case of a young man executed for murder committed in an hour of drunkenness, his penitence, his humility, his proper view of the turpitude of his conduct, his remorse that he had not lived as he was counseled when an inmate of the Refuge, gave undoubted evidence that the whole effect of the moral lessons he had received was not lost.

Some institutions are too indulgent and some too exacting. Absolute justice and kindness secure more contentment among the inmates than constant coaxing and amusement. Facts show, in spite of theories, that walls and securely-closed doors do not depress nor discourage youths of an age suitable to be

committed to a reform school, do not unfavorably affect the health nor destroy buoyancy of spirit; but they do allay the Arab fever in the veins of street children, and the demoralizing meditations upon possible plans of escape.

While the farm offers the most wholesome discipline in many respects, and it is very desirable to send away vagrant boys from the city into the country, there are many that will not remain upon a farm, that need for their discipline the more active training of the shop, and who give a far better promise of being rescued from the temptations of the streets if they have a remunerative mechanical trade. Besides, many months in the year the farm offers little work for these institution boys to perform. The shop and the ship are the great promising openings for them.

It is still, however, the era of experiment, and the newer institutions are coming upon the field with the accumulated wisdom of a half-century's trial to aid them at the start. The great leverage of loss still in these establishments, the fall of so many that have enjoyed their instructions, shows that there is work still for thinkers and executive minds to busy their thoughts upon.

While the reform schools have been multiplying, the work of prevention has been carried on with an equal pace. The remarkable success of Dr. Chalmers in Glasgow, in 1820, in carrying the day-school and religious institutions into the most vicious and degraded portions of the city, and changing the whole physical appearance of the vicinity as well as the moral character of the inhabitants, and the repetition of the experiment in Edinburgh in 1845, in streets to which Burke by numerous murders had given an infamous notoriety—where one fourth of the population were on the poor-roll as paupers, and another fourth were known to be street-beggars, thieves, or prostitutes—awakened general interest. Within five years, by the introduction of the simplest form of religious and intellectual culture, the whole character of that locality in Edinburgh was changed. So practicable and effectual was the work, that in this short period it was not known that a single child of a family resident within the "West Port" was habitually absent from school; and from being a dangerous neighborhood, day and night, it became one of the most orderly and

safest quarters of the city. The success also of Sheriff Watson, in the Scotch city of Aberdeen, in clearing all the streets of young vagrants, by supplying plain clothing, food, and instruction in suitable institutions, and requiring all children found in the streets without regular employment to attend upon them at the peril of being committed to the penitentiary, and of the English ragged-schools, originated by that remarkable cripple-shoemaker, John Pounds, of Portsmouth, in his experiment with his "little blackguards," as he called them, inspired Christian men and women on this side of the Atlantic to explore the dark wastes of vice in our large cities, and carry with them the resources of the Gospel and opportunities for intellectual and industrial training. What transformations have taken place in the Five Points and Fourth Ward of New York, in Bedford-street, Philadelphia, and in North-street, Boston! The moral wilderness and the solitary places have been made glad by the presence of devoted men and women; the wolf has been made to dwell with the lamb, and a little child has led them.

One of the most thoroughly organized preventive measures of the day is the extended system of the Children's Aid Society in New York, embracing temporary lodgings for little street merchants, day and evening industrial schools, and a constant vigorous deportation of the vagrant youths of the city streets to those portions of the country where the pressing demands for even juvenile labor secure for these "little wanderers" a comfortable home and an agricultural training. The past twenty years have witnessed the rapid increase of orphan institutions, Magdalene asylums, city and midnight missions, and almost every conceivable variety of associated effort to carry the blessing of the Gospel to the dangerous and perishing classes. There is, doubtless, a great want of economy in this multiplication of agencies with paid agents. It is not altogether an unfounded taunt on modern philanthropy that it is made to cost two dollars to give a needy person one. There is a special demand at this hour for some central board in States or municipalities to systematize and harmonize these multiform agencies; but after all these obvious evils are admitted, it must be said that their very multitudinousness calls the greater number of workers into the field, and secures a wider exploration

of the seats and nests of vice and crime, the breaking up of which will be one of the most important and successful steps toward depleting our prisons and decreasing the criminal class. We bid God-speed to all these thousands of laborers in the great common field. Their efforts will disclose their efficiency in the transformations they secure. They will

"Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
Ring out the narrowing lust for gold,
Ring out the thousand ways of old;
Ring in the thousand years of peace,
Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

ART. VII.—HOMER AND HIS ENGLISH TRANSLATORS.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

IN a previous article we examined the earlier translations of Homer into English verse. In the present one we shall devote our attention to the more recent translations of Lord Derby and Mr. Bryant, whose intrinsic merits, no less than their comparative freshness, entitle them to a fuller discussion as well as a careful collation.

It is not too much to assert, that among all the earlier complete translations of either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, not one was felt to be wholly satisfactory. Chapman's Homer was too capricious, Ogilby's too tame. Hobbes, of Malmesbury, had given us a poem, the chief peculiarity of which was its baldness. Cowper had constructed verses conspicuously deficient in harmony; while none of the more modern writers—neither Sotheby nor Munford nor any of their rivals—possessed the combination of skill in the use of language and a keen appreciation of the spirit of the author demanded by their office. Although sound scholarship and scrupulous fidelity were felt to be needed worthily to reproduce the immortal poems of Homer, it was none the less evident that the old adage held good in this case also—It requires a poet fully to comprehend and translate a poet. And so it was that, until lately, in spite of all his glaring deficiencies, Alexander Pope was still the

accepted interpreter of Homer. That he is no longer admitted to this high place, even in the estimation of the general public, is due entirely to Lord Derby and Mr. Bryant, who, on opposite sides of the Atlantic, have made the most painstaking and brilliant attempts to present us with an English Homer disfigured by no additions of strange and incongruous costume. And it is a matter of proper national pride that, in whatever light we compare the results of their efforts, it will be found that the palm of superior success incontestably belongs to our own American poet.

In the spring of 1862, Edward, Earl of Derby, for the gratification of a few personal friends, published in a volume of "Translations of Poems, Ancient and Modern," the first book of the *Iliad*. The flattering reception of this first attempt encouraged the author to employ such leisure as he could command, amid his engrossing political engagements, to the continuation of the work. At the close of 1864 he had completed his self-imposed task, and gave to the public the entire poem. He wrote in his preface :

It has been my aim throughout to produce a translation, and not a paraphrase; not, indeed, such a translation as would satisfy with regard to each word the rigid requirements of accurate scholarship, but such as would fairly and honestly give the sense and spirit of every passage and of every line, omitting nothing and expanding nothing, and adhering, as closely as our language will allow, ever to every epithet which is capable of being translated, and which has in the particular passage anything of a special and distinctive character.

It speaks well for the sound judgment of Lord Derby, that he seems promptly to have rejected the various meters which his predecessors in this work had severally adopted—the complicated Spenserian stanza, the trochaic or ballad measure, the rhyming couplet, and the hexameter, which, artificial in German, even in the hands of Voss, becomes absolutely unendurable when pressed into the service of English versification. Applied to a language in which the verbal accent, the only basis for rhythm it possesses, abhors the long intervals required by the dactyl, and, if it falls far back in the word, almost uniformly necessitates the introduction of a secondary or auxiliary accent in every alternate syllable, this English hexameter is a monstrosity, totally different in type from the Greek and Latin

hexameters. On the other hand, the grand decasyllabic iambic verse, the verse of Milton's immortal epics, in which that master writer, who, whether in prose or in poetry, knew scarce an equal, certainly no superior, sang

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden—

the verse which, accordingly, has as good a claim to be called heroic in English as has the dactylic hexameter in Greek, presented itself as eminently appropriate. Lord Derby's panegyric of this species of verse, the heritage of our common Anglo-Saxon tongue, is so fine, and at the same time so well-deserved, that we cannot but give it a place here, extended though it is :

In the progress of this work I have been more and more confirmed in the opinion which I expressed at its commencement, that (whatever may be the extent of my own individual failure) "if justice is ever to be done to the easy flow and majestic simplicity of the grand old poet, it can only be in the heroic blank verse." I have seen isolated passages admirably rendered in other meters; and there are many instances in which a translation line for line and couplet for couplet naturally suggests itself, and in which it is sometimes difficult to avoid an involuntary rhyme; but the blank verse appears to me the only meter capable of adapting itself to all the gradations, if I may use the term, of the Homeric style, from the finished poetry of the numerous similes, in which every touch is nature and nothing is overcolored or exaggerated, down to the simple, almost homely, style of some portions of the narrative. Least of all can any other meter do full justice to the spirit and freedom of the various speeches in which the old warriors give utterance, without disguise or restraint, to all their strong and genuine emotions. To subject these to the trammels of couplet and rhyme would be as destructive of their chief characteristics as the application of a similar process to the "Paradise Lost" of Milton or the tragedies of Shakspeare; the effect, indeed, may be seen by comparing with some of the noblest speeches of the latter the few couplets which he seems to have considered himself bound by custom to tack on to their close at the end of a scene or an act.*

The execution of the translation, conceived with such just views so far as regards its form, is deserving of very high praise. One or two things will at once strike the reader,

* Preface, p. 7, etc.

especially if he come to it fresh from the perusal of the earlier versions. In the first place he will discover, before he has gone very far, that if art has been employed in the construction of the sentences it is an art that conceals art. The flow is steady, the versification smooth. There is nothing abrupt; there are no impediments in the way, no rough spots to withdraw the eye from the view of scene after scene of rare beauty and attractiveness. In an eminent degree Lord Derby's Homer possesses the highest merit which can attach to literary composition, that of rarely fixing attention upon itself either by falling below the proper dignity of the subject or by an attempt at meretricious display. The diction is clear and transparent. Now this is very different from the older translations, and especially from that of Cowper, which, being in blank verse, affords the most convenient basis of comparison. Of the latter you can hardly read five lines anywhere without stumbling upon a defective rhythm, caused, it is not unlikely, by the false and unnatural accent which the verse requires you to place upon some properly unaccented syllable. Closely connected with this is another fact which the comparison will infallibly bring into view. The involved constructions of Cowper find no place in Derby. To exemplify both the transparent diction and the simple but dignified construction of the discourse in Lord Derby's translation, read his rendering of the characteristic speech of Telamonian Ajax to Ulysses in the hearing of the obdurate hero, whom he wished to shame into returning to his post in the Greek army (*Iliad* IX, 724, etc.):

"We needs must bear

Our tidings, all unwelcome as they are,
Back to the chiefs awaiting our return.
Achilles hath allowed his noble heart
To cherish rancor and malignant hate;
Nor recks he of his old companions' love,
Wherewith we honored him above the rest
Relentless he! a son's or brother's death,
By payment of a fine, may be atoned;
The slayer may remain in peace at home,
The debt discharged; the other will forego,
The forfeiture received, his just revenge;
But in thy breast the gods have placed a soul
Implacable and harsh: and for a girl,
A simple girl! and seven we offer thee
Surpassing fair, and other gifts to boot.

We now bespeak thy courtesy; respect
Thy hearth; remember that beneath thy roof
We stand, selected by the gen'ral voice
From all the host; and fair would claim to be,
Of all the Greeks, thy best and dearest friends."

It has often been remarked of Homer's style, that the poet rarely takes up a new topic without first fully dismissing that of which he has been treating, and that thus each line presents a distinct image to the mind's eye. Yet so naturally and simply are the lines linked together, so skillfully is one image made to vanish and give place to its successor, that the attention of the reader rarely flags, his mind scarcely ever tires. In this particular Homer finds a close and successful imitator in Lord Derby. His style is natural and unstudied; and as it is against his avowed purpose either to insert any thing which he does not find in Homer, or to omit what he does find there, he is saved the absurdity of crediting the Greek poet with conceits and refinements which were utterly foreign to the age in which he lived. An able writer in the *Edinburgh Review*,* more familiar with Lord Derby's public speeches than we are, believes that he can trace in his phraseology not a little of the oratorical power which rendered him a very distinguished man in political life; and he thinks that the merits of his translation of the *Iliad* "may be summed up in one word—that it is eminently *attractive*; it is instinct with life; it may be read with fervent interest; and though it does not rival Pope in the charms of versification, it is immeasurably nearer than Pope to the text of the original. If we ask ourselves," he continues, "whence these qualities are derived, we suspect it is from the living interest and individuality Lord Derby has thrown into his work. Cowper was a more perfect master of English blank verse than Lord Derby, yet his translation of Homer is cold and repulsive, and of the numerous experiments which have been made in our own time not one could support the ordeal of a second reading."

After the Earl of Derby had given us so correct and spirited a version—the best, take it all in all, that had appeared in English up to his time—it could scarcely have been anticipated that a new and formidable rival would soon enter the

* For January, 1865.

field. Just about the time that Lord Derby was committing to the press his Homer, William Cullen Bryant began writing his. The occupation which Hobbes, of Malmesbury, entered upon as a recreation for old age, and Cowper in the desperate attempt to ward off that fearful melancholy which threatened to unsettle his reason, became to Mr. Bryant, as he briefly informs us in his preface, a means of "helping him in some measure to divert his mind from a great domestic sorrow."

It would be quite superfluous to undertake here the enumeration of the advantages which the new translator of Homer seemed to possess, and which raised high the expectations of the American, and, perhaps, scarcely less the English, public, as soon as it was known that he was devoting some of his maturer years to the task. Few men in their prime have written verses that will compare with those which the author of *Thanatopsis* composed at eighteen. With a mind imbued with an almost idolatrous love of nature, he never forgot the impressions gained in childhood among the hills of Massachusetts, or lost in the busy city where his life has been principally spent the repose and calm which he had acquired in communion with the grandest works of God around him. The "Forest Hymn" breathes the same unaffected devotion to the wild haunts of wood and field as the earliest of his published poems. But not alone as the interpreter of nature had Mr. Bryant won an enviable distinction. His numerous translations from the Spanish and the German, from the French and the Portuguese, had shown how well his muse could comprehend and reproduce the poetic thoughts and expressions of others.

It would be impracticable, if it were desirable, within the limits to which we are confined, to institute that minute comparison between Mr. Bryant's version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the productions of his predecessors upon which alone a comprehensive estimate of their respective merits can be based. It would be unjust to those preliminary attempts to ignore the great advantage which Bryant has enjoyed in possessing such valuable guides, who, whether by their success or by their failures, have equally contributed to lighten his task. Nor has Mr. Bryant himself been slow in acknowledging, to use his own words, "that although Homer is, as Cowper has well observed, the most perspicuous of poets, he has been some

times, perhaps often, guided by the labors of his predecessors to a better mode of dealing with certain refractory passages of his author than he would otherwise have found." We cannot discover, however, that the assistance has been too great or too frequently invoked. Of verbal coincidences there must, of course, be many. In epithets and designations, the room for choice being extremely limited, this is unavoidable, especially when to identity of subject and of author there is added, as in the case of Derby, the same meter and poetic form. On the whole, we are surprised at the infrequency, rather than at the number, of these parallelisms, when we consider that both Derby and Bryant have laid down for themselves so strict a rule of conscientious accuracy of translation.

We might select, for such a partial comparison between the translations of Lord Derby and Mr. Bryant as the limits of this article will allow, the commencement of the third book of the Iliad. It will be remembered that this passage, although not specially remarkable for its poetic fire, is of considerable interest as picturing in Homer's best style the short-lived valor of Paris, his cowardly retreat upon the approach of Menelaus, Hector's taunting reproof of his effeminate brother's weakness and treachery, and Paris's final proposition to settle the entire quarrel by a single encounter between himself and Menelaus.

The hosts marshaled for war approach. The Trojan advancing "with noise and clamor," as Derby expresses it—"with shouts and clang of arms," as Bryant renders it more precisely (*κλαγγὴ τ' ἐνοπῆ*)—is likened to the cranes that fly southward and bear to the race of pygmies *φόνον καὶ Κῆρα*, which our American translator again gives exactly, "bloodshed and death," not "battle and death," as Derby makes it. All goes well with Paris, the fresh champion of Troy, until he espies the Grecian hero, whose hospitality he has so grievously violated, approaching *in*, not *from*, the foremost ranks, as both translators make it. But at the sight of his injured host Paris draws back in terror. Homer compares his fright to that of one who comes unexpectedly upon a serpent:

‘Ως δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἴδων, παλίνορσος ἀπέστη
Οὐρεος ἐν βήσας, ὑπό τε τρόμος Ἐλλαζε γνία, κ. τ. λ.
"As one who meets within a mountain glade
A serpent starts aside with sudden fright,

And takes the backward way with trembling limb
And cheeks all white."

This rendering of Bryant's is about as faithful as it is possible to make one in translating verse into verse, and certainly is as precise as can be required. It is exact even to those details which the older translators thought themselves at liberty to modify or change at will. In fact, it is exact where Derby allows himself more latitude. With him it is a "traveler," and the scene is not a "glade" (*βῆσσα*) but a "mountain-side." The serpent becomes a "deadly" snake, and is represented as "coiled in his path," an addition the more unfortunate as the participle jars upon the ear in such close proximity with the verb "recoils" of the next line. Paris withdraws into the ranks of the "high-souled sons of Troy," as Bryant renders *ἀγχερών τρώων*, while Derby omits the epithet altogether.

And so in a great number of minute particulars, in themselves perhaps of no great importance, but gaining importance collectively from the fact that they are so many touches which reproduce the coloring of Homer's painting. It is Bryant that is particularly impressed with the view that not one of them must be arbitrarily left out, and that, other things being equal, that form of translation is best which copies the original even down to the most apparently insignificant detail. Hector did more than "speak in stern rebuke" to his recreant brother—*νείκεσσεν... αλοχροῖς ἐπέεσσιν*—he "upbraided him harshly." A little further on he asks him—not as Derby gives his words, "How was't that such as thou could e'er induce" the Trojans to follow and carry off fair Helen from Greece? but as Bryant properly gives it—

"Wast thou such
When, crossing the great deep in thy staunch ships,
With chosen comrades, thou didst make thy way
Among a stranger people, and bear off
A beautiful woman from that distant land?"

The figure with which Hector's spirited address concluded is, however, better given by Derby :

"But too forbearing are the men of Troy;
Else for the ills that thou hast wrought the State,
Ere now thy body *had in stone been cased*."—(Lines 66-8.)

Bryant makes the threat read:

"Else hadst thou, for the evil thou hast wrought,
Been laid *beneath a coverlet of stone*," (lines 70-1;)

which is evidently not so good. Hector's meaning was plainly: Instead of the armor of bronze which now clothes thee, thou shouldst have had another armor encasing thee, but it would have been the stony armor of the sepulcher. In the original it is not a *coverlet*, but a *tunic*, of stone—

ἢ τέ κεν ἡδη
λάινον ἐσσο χιτῶνα, κακῶν ἐνεχ', δσσα ἐοργας.

In the seventy-eighth and seventy-ninth lines Derby employs the circumlocution "Heaven" for "the gods"—a circumlocution which is certainly not Homeric and ought to be avoided, as it smacks of Pope and his imitators. In the eighty-fourth and others, the *κτήματα* which Paris offers to restore to Menelaus, should the latter prevail in the proposed duel, are the rich possessions, the "treasure," which Paris had carried off when he robbed Menelaus of his wife, and, therefore, improperly translated by Derby, "the spoils of war."

We are not warranted in supposing that Homer employs the proper names Achaia and Argos indifferently to designate the same territory, especially when they occur in the same connection. So when the Greeks are to return—

•Αργος ἐς ἵπποβοτον καὶ Ἀχαιΐδα καλλιγύναικα—

Bryant is wise in rendering:

" And all the Greeks
Return to Argos, famed for noble steeds,
And to Achaia, famed for lovely dames;"

rather than confuse them as Derby does:

"And to their native Argos they return,
For noble steeds and lovely women famed."—(Lines 90-1.)

At line one hundred and ten Bryant, on the other hand, omits altogether the designation which Hector characteristically gives to Paris as *τοῦ ἐλέκτη νεῖκος δρῶρεν*, while Derby renders it properly :

"Hear now, ye Trojans and ye well-greaved Greeks,
The words of Paris, *cause of all this war.*"—(Lines 103-4.)

Very rarely, however, does the credit of observing the niceties of translation belong to Derby rather than Bryant. Only two or three lines further down, the latter distinguishes Menelaus

as "loved of Mars," while the former confounds him with the common herd of the "warlike."

We may be pardoned for presenting, side by side, a brief extract from each of the two translations of the same passage, as affording a more ready means of comparing their respective merits both on the score of fidelity and on that of poetical execution.

Here is Lord Derby's version of the beginning of Menelaus's acceptance of the challenge:

"Hear now my answer: in this quarrel I
 May claim the chiefest share; and now I hope
 Trojans and Greeks may see the final close
 Of all the labors ye so long have borne
 T' avenge my wrong, at Paris' hand sustained.
 And of us two, whiche'er is doomed to death,
 So let him die! the rest, depart in peace.
 Bring then two lambs, one white, the other black,
 For Tellus and for Sol; we, on our part,
 Will bring another, for Saturnian Jove."

Mr. Bryant's is as follows:

"Now hear me also—me whose spirit feels
 The wrong most keenly. I propose that now
 The Greeks and Trojans separate reconciled,
 For greatly have ye suffered for the sake
 Of this my quarrel, and the original fault
 Of Paris. Whomsoever fate ordains
 To perish, let him die; but let the rest
 Be from this moment reconciled, and part,
 And bring an offering of two lambs—one white,
 The other black—to Earth and to the Sun,
 And we ourselves will offer one to Jove."

It may be noted, first of all, that throughout Bryant's adherence to the form as well as the substance of the Greek is wonderfully close. "Me whose spirit feels the wrong most keenly" is a good equivalent of Homer's *μάλιστα γὰρ ἀλγο* *ικάνει Θυμὸν ἐμόν*, which Derby's rendering is not. The same may be said of the expression, "And the original fault of Paris"—καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐνεκ' ἀρχῆς. Of Lord Derby's use of the terms "Tellus" and "Sol," instead of Earth and Sun, we need only say that it is an absolutely unnecessary resort to the Latin designations of deities, against which, under any circumstances, many strong arguments have been alleged. The employment of the names of the gods of Rome for the essentially

distinct gods of Greece can assuredly be defended only on the ground of long usage and general convenience. We believe that Lord Derby has acted judiciously in adopting, though not without hesitation as he informs us in his preface, the Latin rather than the Greek nomenclature for the heathen deities, and his argument is to our mind conclusive: "I have been induced to do so from the manifest incongruity of confounding the two, and from the fact that though English readers may be familiar with the names of Zeus, or Aphrodite, or even Poseidon, those of Hera, or Ares, or Hephaestus, or Leto would hardly convey to them a definite signification." Upon the same principle of admitting only what is perspicuous, Lord Derby ought to have excluded both "Tellus" and "Sol," especially as these were gods of Rome rather than Greece.

We notice, in passing, that when describing the sacrifice neither Bryant nor Derby mentions the circumstance that the lamb offered to the sun was to be a white *male*, and that offered to the earth a black *ewe* lamb, as is indicated by the gender of the adjective words in the Greek.

Without extending the comparison to other portions of the Iliad, it may be worth while to state the conclusion at which a careful reader of the two translations will, we think, be forced to arrive. As respects fidelity of rendering, both writers appear to have been equally emulous of presenting as perfect an image of Homer as could be conveyed in English verse. Both have striven, as Bryant expresses himself in his preface to the Iliad, "to preserve the simplicity of style which distinguishes the old Greek poet, who wrote for the popular ear and according to the genius of his language." But, of the two, Bryant appears to us to have succeeded in this more signally than Derby, and certainly far better than any other poet whom we are acquainted with. There is a smooth and flowing idiom, the counterpart in our language of the untiring numbers of Homer, which never halt or betray a negligent hand. No attempt is visible in any part to make the translation more ornate than the original. If Homer often condescends in homely language to describe the rude avocations and ruder habits of men, Bryant betrays no false alarm for the honor of his master. When Homer nods, as even Homer, we are told, sometimes does, Bryant is content if his English verses incur no more risk of

being styled monotonous than the Greek hexameters. For better or for worse, he espouses the cause of the bard of Smyrna.

More distinctly noticeable, however, is the superior poetic color of Bryant's translation. If the Earl of Derby occasionally brings his acknowledged excellence as an orator to assist him in the characteristic delineation of the speeches in which the *Iliad* abounds, Mr. Bryant displays not only the results of a thorough acquaintance with the poetical literature of modern times, but the spirit and fertility of imagination of a poet. With him the construction of verses was not an accomplishment laboriously acquired under the enforced discipline of the upper forms in a classical school. "*Poeta nascitur, non fit.*" With uncommon precocity, he began to write poetry, as we all know, before he had fairly emerged from childhood into youth, and the ability to clothe thought in poetical garb was less an attainment than a natural endowment. Add to this that the distinguishing features of Mr. Bryant's own poetry are rather a certain elevation and calm contemplation—that the vicissitudes of human life seem to pass before him as before one seated upon some superior height, where neither its pleasures nor its sorrows affect too much the serenity of his vision—and we seem to have in him the poet who is best calculated to become the interpreter of the great epic poet of Greece; for Homer is not generally an emotional poet, and rarely strives to arouse our sympathies. With him fate is inexorable, human life brief and fitful. Its duration is too short, its pleasures are too transient, its woes too completely merged in the darkness of death and oblivion, to excite a lively joy or a keen regret. Yet the idea of divine retribution runs through his poems and forms a conspicuous feature; and on this point again we need but look at Mr. Bryant's striking poem on Death to see how nearly the current of his habitual representations runs to Homer's view of Nemesis, or the goddess of retribution, and Até, or the goddess of mischief, of the Greeks.

The mention of the Homeric *Até* recalls the circumstance that few or none of our English translators have adequately expressed the precise notion of the Greek poet respecting the fearful goddess that plays so important a part in the *Iliad*, and by whose pernicious influence he explains the otherwise inex-

plicable folly of Agamemnon in affronting the bravest hero among the Greeks. Nowhere is the Homeric conception more distinctly brought out than in that exquisite appeal of the aged Phoenix to the offended Achilles (in the ninth book of the Iliad) to moderate his thirst for vengeance and return to repentant Agamemnon and his followers :

Καὶ γάρ τε Λιταί εἰσι Διὸς κούραι μεγάλοι,
χωλαὶ τε, βυσαὶ τε, παραβλῶπές τ' ὄφθαλμώ.
αἱ δέ τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἀτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι, κ. τ. λ. (Line 502, etc.,)

which Mr. Bryant thus renders :

"Prayers

Are the daughters of almighty Jupiter—
Lame, wrinkled, and squint-eyed—that painfully
Follow *Misfortune's* steps; but strong of limb
And swift of foot *Misfortune* is, and, far
Outstripping all, comes first to every land,
And there wreaks evil on mankind, which *prayers*
Do afterward redress. Whoe'er receives
Jove's daughters reverently when they approach,
Him willingly they aid, and to his suit
They listen. Whosoever puts them by
With obstinate denial, they appeal
To Jove, the son of Saturn, and entreat
That he will cause *Misfortune* to attend
The offender's way in life, that he in turn
May suffer evil, and be punished thus."—(Lines 616-631.)

Now we cheerfully admit the difficulty, or impossibility if you will, of finding any one word in the English language which is the exact counterpart of the Greek *Ἄτη*; but certainly Mr. Bryant has been exceedingly infelicitous in his selection of *Misfortune* as the nearest equivalent. Viewed as human frailty, the *Ἄτη* of Homer is a blind judicial folly—sin resulting in the loss of the power of discriminating between what is right and profitable and what is wrong and destructive; in short, error, in which the sinfulness of the act is not destroyed by the circumstance that the disposition to commit it is the righteous punishment of the gods for presumption and arrogance, however much the guilty may attempt (as does Agamemnon in the nineteenth book, line 134) to cast the blame upon the immortals. "As a member of the poetical Pantheon," to use the words of Colonel Mure, "Até is the evil genius, Satan, or tempter, by whom men, or even gods, are

seduced into actions involving future shame and remorse."* In the consistent delineation of the mad course of the elder son of Atreus as the working of this seductive and destructive agency, the author we have just named finds one of his strong arguments for the unity of the Iliad.

In the passage before us Phoenix is urging Achilles to beware of coming under her blight by giving loose rein to his relentless passion :

"Subdue that mighty spirit of thine;
Ill it becomes thee to be merciless.
The gods themselves are placable, though far
Above us all in honor and in power
And virtue."

The Até, or judicial blindness with which the deities visit the daring mortal who, self-sufficient, will not suffer the salutary example of the gods to move him, is therefore manifestly different from what we style *Misfortune*. True, as has been said, the translation of the word *Até* is not without its difficulties. To avoid them, as Ogilby and Derby do by leaving it untranslated, is only to make the matter worse, for it makes the passage unintelligible to every one save the classical scholar, who needs no version of the poem at all. Pope misses the meaning altogether when he makes *Até* to be *Injustice*, as if Injustice were the infliction of the gods in punishment of presumption. Chapman's word, "*Injury*," is better. Voss, generally so happy, only gives a partial, and that the least prominent, view of *Até* when he names her "*Schuld*"—*guilt*. Mr. Barter has here more nearly hit the meaning, perhaps, than any one of his competitors :

"For Prayers the daughters be of Zeus the great;
Lame, wrinkled they, their eyes askance are set,
And *Mischief* follow they with care to heal.
But *Mischief*, vigorous and of footing straight,
Outruns them all, through earth beforehand still
Afflicting men. And these behind redress the ill."

In the remaining pages of this article we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of Mr. Bryant's *Odyssey*. We do this with the more pleasure because the second volume of the translation has been but a short time before the public, and

* *Critical History of Greek Literature*, vol. i, p. 317.

may, therefore, not unnaturally claim attention for its superior novelty. And we are not ashamed to confess that the shorter and perhaps less frequently read of Homer's epics has always possessed in our eyes superior interest to that kindled by its more lengthy rival. Here there is no rapid succession of combats, and there are few descriptions of sanguinary engagements and of the deaths of heroes, so minutely set forth and yet so difficult to be distinguished from one another. In place of this characteristic feature of the *Iliad*, we have in the *Odyssey* a narrative of adventure which for variety of incident and sustained movement has few or no rivals in ancient or in modern times. The management of the double plot, itself in strong contrast with the simple plot of the *Iliad*, requires and evinces even superior artistic skill. No meaner poet than Homer could so boldly have undertaken to weave into a single epic the adventures of Telemachus in search of his father, and of Ulysses through his diversified fortunes until he regained his throne. To carry these parallel stories through about two thirds of the poem, until they merge in one at the meeting of the two heroes, was a perilous attempt, but was accomplished with entire success.

The opening of the *Odyssey*, an easier one, by the way, to render faithfully in English than that of the *Iliad*, Mr. Bryant expresses very well :

"Tell me, O Muse, of that sagacious man
Who, having overthrown the sacred town
Of Ilium, wandered far and visited
The capitals of many nations, learned
The customs of their dwellers, and endured
Great suffering on the deep; his life was oft
In peril, as he labored to bring back
His comrades to their homes. He saved them not,
Though earnestly he strove; they perished all,
Through their own folly; for they banqueted,
Madmen! upon the oxen of the Sun—
The all-o'erlooking Sun, who cut them off
From their return. O goddess, virgin-child
Of Jove, relate some part of this to me."

The ten lines of the original here expand into fourteen, which perhaps is not an extravagant allowance, considering the shortness of the English line, and the general superiority of the Greek language in the way of brevity of expression. "The

capitals of many nations" may pass as a sufficiently accurate rendering of the *πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων . . . ἀστεα*, since generally every city at that time was a quasi-independent. But the strong turn of expression in line sixth, *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὅς*, is too feebly given in the words "He saved them not," and the epithet "virgin" in the last line is borne out by nothing in the Greek.

It would be easy to select many passages to prove that Mr. Bryant in his *Odyssey* does not in the least fall below the high standard of his *Iliad*, and in fact that, upon the whole, there is even an improvement. To furnish a sample of his exquisite treatment of a purely descriptive passage, we give his translation of that famous account of Calypso's island, when Mercury brought the unwilling nymph Jupiter's command to suffer Ulysses to return to his home :

"But when he reached that island, far away,
Forth from the dark-blue ocean-swell he stepped
Upon the sea-beach, walking till he came
To the vast cave in which the bright-haired nymph
Made her abode. He found the nymph within;
A fire blazed brightly on the hearth, and far
Was wafted o'er the isle the fragrant smoke
Of cloven cedar, burning in the flame,
And cypress-wood. Meanwhile, in her recess,
She sweetly sang, as busily she threw
The golden shuttle through the web she wove.
And all about the grotto alders grew,
And poplars, and sweet-smelling cypresses.
In a green forest, high among whose boughs
Birds of broad wing, wood-owls, and falcons built
Their nests, and crows, with voices sounding far,
All haunting for their food the ocean-side,
A vine, with downy leaves and clustering grapes,
Crept over all the cavern-rock. Four springs
Poured forth their glittering waters in a row,
And here and there went wandering side by side.
Around were meadows of soft green, o'ergrown
With violets and parsley. 'Twas a spot
Where even an immortal might awhile
Linger and gaze with wonder and delight.
The herald Argus-queller stood, and saw,
And marveled."

(Bryant, *Odyss.* V, 69, etc.)

The description of Mercury's flight from Olympus to Calypso's isle, which immediately precedes the passage we have just

quoted, occurs also in the Iliad, (Book XXIV, 339-345,) where it depicts his flight from the same mountain to carry Jove's mandate to Priam. In each case we have no less than seven consecutive lines which are the same, word for word. Were not such repetitions frequent and closely woven in the very texture of the poems, they might be regarded as interpolations; as it is, they constitute, to our apprehension, a very conclusive proof of the common authorship of the Iliad and Odyssey. The coincidences between the two poems are, however, a less striking peculiarity than the repetitions in different parts of one and the same poem. Socrates was once reproached by an impatient antagonist with continually talking of the same subjects and employing the same trite illustrations; to which he had a very apt reply in readiness: that, while others were forever making contradictory statements about the same things, he at least said the same about the same. In a somewhat different sense this is strikingly true of the great bard of Smyrna. Having once satisfied himself in the selection of an appropriate form of words for the expression of a particular thought, he seems loth to abandon it, and certainly never avoids the repetition through fear lest his hearer or reader may be less pleased with it than if another expression were substituted.* The repetitions extend to long passages in close proximity to each other. When in the ninth book of the Iliad the envoys of Agamemnon enumerate the splendid gifts which the king stands ready to present to Achilles if he will but be reconciled and return to the camp, they employ through thirty-

* We do not, of course, mean to affirm that the poet allows himself no freedom in this matter. Occasionally he strikes out in an entirely different track, or combines what he has said before with something new. Thus the famous couplet of the Iliad (Book IX, 312 and 313):

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνος ὄμος Ἀίδαο πύλησιν,
δειχτερὸν μὲν κενθῆ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἰτη—
"Him as the gate of hell my soul abhors,
Whose outward speech his secret thought belies," (Derby)—

reappears with the second line modified in the Odyssey (Book XIV, 156-7):

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοι κείνος ὄμος Ἀίδαο πύλησιν
γίνεται, δειχτεῖ εἰκὼν ἀπατῆλα βάζει—
"For as the gates of hell do I detest
The man who, tempted by his poverty,
Deceives with lying words."

(Bryant, Odyssey XIV, 187-190.)

six consecutive lines the very words used by Agamemnon in his instructions to them less than a hundred and fifty lines earlier in the same canto. They merely change the person of the verb and pronoun where it becomes necessary. (Lines 122-157 and 263-299.)

Now this will hardly be asserted by any one to arise from any reluctance of Homer to try the resources of his wonderful creative power. The profusion of illustrative imagery, often employed to what we would consider an unnecessary extent, forbids the supposition. We ought rather to regard the commonplaces of Homer as having their origin in the peculiar circumstances of the composition and recitation of his poems, which were intended for the diversion of the people at the public festivals and on the days consecrated to the worship of the gods. A familiar and frequently-recurring line as the preface to a speech, or several lines describing the well-known rites of the sacrifice or the incidents of the meal, afforded a slight rest alike to the rhapsodist and to his listeners. The former could collect his thoughts for the ensuing passage, the latter could relax their close attention. Besides, these more unstudied verses served an excellent purpose in setting off those loftier sentiments of which they were the frame.

So singular a feature in the original ought, we think, to have obtained more recognition from his translators. If Homer is to be presented faithfully to English readers, he should be allowed to repeat himself in the translation wherever he repeats himself in the Greek. Mr. Bryant has not thought this a necessity, preferring to give to his work a variety which does not exist in the original. For instance, the swine-herd Eumeus, inquiring who Ulysses is and whence he comes, uses the same playful language that Telemachus addresses to Minerva when, in the form of Mentes, she presented herself to him in the palace (*Odyssey I*, 170-3):

Τίς, πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἡδὲ τοκῆς;
οἶποιης δ' ἐπὶ νηὸς ἀφίκεο; πῶς δέ σε ναῦται, κ. τ. λ.

In the first book Mr. Bryant translates with the context as follows:

"But now, I pray,
Tell me, and frankly tell me, who thou art,
And of what race of men, and where thy home,

*And who thy parents; how the mariners
Brought thee to Ithaca, and who they claim
To be, for well I deem thou couldst not come
Hither on foot."* (Lines 208-214.)

In the fourteenth book the same words read thus:

"And now, old man,
Relate, I pray, thy fortunes. Tell me true,
That I may know *who thou mayst be, and whence*
Thou camest; where thy city lies, and who
Thy parents were; what galley landed thee
Upon our coast, and how the mariners
Brought thee to Ithaca, and of what race
They claim to be; for I may well suppose
Thou hadst not come to Ithaca on foot." (Lines 231-9.)

The only advantage of the second over the first translation is that it inserts a rendering for $\delta\pi\pi\omega\eta\varsigma\delta'$ $\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\delta\alpha\phi\kappa\epsilon\omega$, which the other omits entirely.

Another illustration of the same thing may be found in the same books. In the first, Telemachus bewails the unfortunate disappearance of his father:

"I should not grieve
So deeply for his loss if he had fallen
With his companions on the field of Troy,
Or midst his kindred when the war was o'er.
Then all the Greeks had built his monument,
And he had left his son a heritage
Of glory. Now has he become the prey
Of Harpies, perishing ingloriously,
Unseen, his fate unheard of, and has left
Mourning and grief, my portion." (Lines 293-302.)

And in the fourteenth book we have the same lament, but this time placed in the mouth of Eumeus:

"The gods all hate
My master, since they neither caused his death
In the great war of Troy, nor, when the war
Was over, suffered him to die at home,
And in the arms of those who loved him most;
For then would all the Greeks have reared to him
A monument, and mighty would have been
The heritage of glory for his son;
But now ingloriously the harpy brood
Have torn him!" (Lines 446-455.)

As in the last instance, the words in italics are those which translate the same Greek verses. We think that it will be

clear to every scholar that Mr. Bryant would have done well to have repeated himself. Certainly he has not bettered the rendering. "Or midst his kindred when the war was o'er" is more faithful than the two lines and more which express the same sentiment in the other version. This and other expansions have swollen the translation of the *four* lines of the original from *five* in Mr. Bryant's first book to about *seven* in his fourteenth. It is needless to remark that "the harpy brood" is far less definite, exact, and poetical than the simple designation of the "Harpies."

The story which Eumeus told of his adventures from the time when he was kidnapped by Phoenician sailors from his princely home, to be sold into slavery in another part of the Greek world, is interesting as throwing light upon the manners and customs of the day. It was a Sidonian woman, herself torn from a wealthy home by *Greek* pirates, that served as the instrument of betraying him into the hands of her countrymen. Mr. Bryant thus renders the narrative:

"There came a crew of that seafaring race,
The people of Phoenicia, to our isle.
Shrewd fellows they, and brought in their black ship
Large store of trinkets. In my father's house
Was a Phoenician woman, large and fair,
And skilled in embroidery. As she came
A laundress to their ship, those cunning men
Seduced her. One of them obtained her love;
For oft doth love mislead weak womankind,
Even of the more discreet

The Phoenician crew remained
Until the twelvemonth's end, and filled their ship
With many things, and when its roomy hull
Was fully laden, sent a messenger
To tell the woman. He, a cunning man,
Came to my father's house, and brought with him
A golden necklace set with amber beads.
The palace maidens and the gracious queen,
My mother, took it in their hands, and gazed
Upon it, and debated of its price.
Meantime the bearer gave the sign, and soon
Departed to the ship. The woman took
My hand and led me forth. Within the hall
She found upon the tables ready placed
The goblets for my father's guests, his peers;
But they were absent, and in council yet
Amid a great assembly. She concealed

Three goblets in her bosom, and bore off
The theft. I followed thoughtlessly. The sun
Went down, and darkness brooded o'er the ways.
Briskly we walked, and reached the famous port
And the fast-sailing ship. They took us both
On board, and sailed." (Book XV, lines 526, etc.)

In this fine bit of word-painting there is little to criticise. A minor inaccuracy occurs in lines 531 and 532. The Phoenician woman does not appear in the Greek as having come "a laundress to their ship;" but her countrymen merely met her as she washed, doubtless for the princely family to which she was a slave, at some spring or stream that flowed into the sea near the spot where the ship was drawn up upon the sands. The poet, it will be remembered, represents (Odyssey VI, 109, etc.) even a queen's daughter, Nausicaa, as engaged with her maidens, after the same primitive fashion, in washing not far from the sea on

"The river's pleasant brink,
Where lavers had been hollowed out to last
Perpetually, and freely through them flowed
Pure water that might cleanse the foulest stains."

In the line before us Homer simply says:

πλυνούσση τις πρῶτα μίγη, κοῖλη παρὰ νηῖ.

We have looked for some of our favorite passages, and we have in no case failed to find a noble and worthy rendering in Bryant's *Odyssey*. Take the sixteenth book, in which Telemachus recounts to his now recovered father the numbers of the haughty suitors for Penelope with whom Ulysses will have to contend before he regains his throne, with a feeling akin to that which prompts Elisha's servant, seeing the city encompassed with horses and chariots, to exclaim: "Alas, my master! how shall we do?" (2 Kings vi, 15.) There is some touch of the Hebrew prophet's heroism in the reply of Ulysses, although it comes far short of the simple assurance, "Fear not; for they that be with us are more than they that be with them." The Supreme God, the god of justice, and his daughter, the goddess of reason, Ulysses says, are on his side:

"Now, if thy thought
Be turned to some ally, bethink thee who
Will combat for us with a willing heart."

Again Ulysses, the great sufferer, spake:
'Then will I tell thee; listen, and give heed.
Think whether Pallas and her father, Jove,
Suffice not for us. Need we more allies?'

And then discreet Telemachus rejoined:
'Assuredly the twain whom thou hast named
Are mighty as allies; for though they sit
On high among the clouds, they yet bear rule
Both o'er mankind and o'er the living gods.'"

We have room but for one more extract from this delightful poem, of whose excellences no line or lines taken here and there can give an adequate idea, but which to be fully appreciated must be read from beginning to end. We quote the exquisite description of the embrace of Ulysses and Penelope, when at last the latter has been convinced that she sees before her her long absent lord:

"She spake, and he was moved to tears; he wept
As in his arms he held his dearly loved
And faithful wife. As welcome as the land
To those who swim the deep, of whose stout bark
Neptune has made a wreck amid the waves,
Tossed by the billow and the blast, and few
Are those who from the hoary ocean reach
The shore, their limbs all crested with the brine,
These gladly climb the sea-beach, and are safe,—
So welcome was her husband to her eyes.
Nor would her fair white arms release his neck,
And there would rosy-fingered Morn have found
Both weeping, but the blue-eyed Pallas planned
That thus it should not be; she stayed the night
When near its close, and held the golden Morn
Long in the ocean deeps, nor suffered her
To yoke her steeds that bring the light to men,—
Lampas and Phaethon, swift steeds that bear
The Morning on her way." (Book XXIII, lines 280-298.)

In conclusion, we need only to express our conviction that Mr. Bryant has given us a translation of both of Homer's great epics which is unequalled in our language for its fidelity both to the spirit and to the letter of the original—a work, in short, which, while it reflects great credit upon his classical scholarship, will invest with still higher glory his well-earned poetical laurels.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, July, 1872. (Philadelphia.)—1. Certainty in Religion. 2. Palfrey on Religious Intolerance in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. 3. Jewish Proselyte Baptism. 4. The Platonic Myths. 5. The Warning against Apostasy.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1872. (Andover.)—1. The Influence of the Press. 2. Destructive Analysis in Theology. 3. Revelation and Inspiration. 4. Characteristics of the Growth of Christ's Kingdom. 5. Lyell's Student's Elements of Geology. 6. Christ as a Practical Observer of Nature, Persons, and Events. 7. Εγώ βαπτίζω τὸν ιδαῖον.—John i, 26. 8. Church Creeds. 9. Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography. 10. Dr. Hodge's Systematic Theology.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1872. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Doctrine of the Atonement. 2. The Status and Relations of the Christian Church. 3. Judaic Baptism. 4. The Representative Import of "Ekklesia." 5. Have Human Speculations Obscured the Once Plain Way? 6. The Office of the Presbytery. 7. The Worshiping of Jesus. 8. Peter and Paul on Baptism and Justification.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1872. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Principle of the Lutheran Reformation. 2. The Descent of Man. 3. The Communion of Saints. 4. John Kepler, the German Astronomer. 5. Sources of Power in Preaching. 6. The Eloquence of St. Paul. 7. Recent Works on English Literature. 8. Exposition of 1 Cor. xv, 22.

THEOLOGICAL MEDIUM, A CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1872. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Sum Via. ("I am the Way.") 2. Man's Creation and Capabilities. 3. Creation ex Nihilo. 4. An Apology for Faith. 5. Christianity a Universal Religion. 6. The Evangelical Union of Scotland. 7. The Passover. 8. The Jesuits. 9. Philosophic and Religious Basis for a Life of Jesus Christ; Supernaturalism.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1872. (Boston.)—1. The Genesis of Science. 2. Letters of Murray and Richards. 3. Reminiscences of W. J. Fox, of London, and of the Author of "Nearer, my God, to Thee." 4. Doctrinal Phases of Universalism during the Past Century. 5. Africa: Physical, Historical, and Ethnological.—Christian Missions. 6. Bayle and Leclerc; or, The Manichean and the Universalist.

THE fourth article, by Rev. G. W. Whitney, is a review of Mr. Dorchester's discussion of Universalist History in our Quarterly. It is free-spoken, but courteous and candid.

In regard to the spiritual decline imputed to Universalism by Mr. Dorchester, the Reviewer replies: "In point of fact it is continually tending toward a higher religious experience. We feel confident that the last twenty years have witnessed a great improvement in the devotional aspects of Universalism, though aware that much remains to be done. This incompleteness is not owing to inherent defects, we apprehend, but to the magnitude of the work and human imperfection. When has man ever done his work perfectly?"—P. 323.

He quotes the decline which occurred even in Luther's days

in the fervor of the piety of the reformed Churches, and the generally inferior fervor of Protestantism in comparison with Catholicism. He then adds the following paragraphs, containing thoughts which it may be well for Methodists to hear and to weigh :

" The Methodist Church, which seems to be a solitary exception, is unique because it represents a tendency to return to the primitive fervor of the Church, and rests its claims more largely on its warmth and zeal than on any doctrines which distinguish it. Yet even the followers of Wesley have not equaled, we believe, the fervor and the constancy of the early Church. That was strong enough to force its way among a people utterly hostile to its spread, and relied so much on its power over the hearts of believers that every diversity of belief was allowed except on the fundamental point of Christ's authority. Limitarians, Annihilationists, Universalists, all labored together, and the good work prospered in their hands. Thus the Church existed for more than two hundred years, and very rarely did it lose its hold on any of its members. Indeed, the Methodist Church can scarcely be said to equal the Catholic Church in fervor and religious power ; and if it exhibits some results which the Romanists cannot equal, is it not fair to attribute them to its better doctrines, rather than to its superior methods ? We cannot help admiring many of the æsthetic accessories of the 'Mother Church,' nor refrain from contrasting them with the meager details of Methodist routine. The Catholic Church is like a plant with many roots, and could get along better without the doctrine of endless misery than could the Methodist. The next fifty years will test the *spiritual* power of Methodism as it never has been tested before." —P. 324.

Our Reviewer quotes two passages, both second-hand, to show that Wesley was a Universalist ! It is by wrenching them from their connections and imposing upon their mere verbiage a meaning that never entered Wesley's head. In their true meaning our Methodism of the present hour perfectly coincides in letter and spirit with every word and syllable. The first quotation, with the Reviewer's own italics, is as follows :

" By salvation I mean not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell, or going to heaven, but a present

deliverance from sin. Now, if by salvation we mean a present salvation from sin, we cannot say holiness is the condition of it, for it is the thing itself."—P. 333.

Premising that the word "vulgar" here is used in the sense, more prevalent then than now, as synonymous with *common* or *ordinary*, the words no more deny a future "hell" than a future "heaven." Methodism at the present hour places the same emphasis on "a present salvation" that Wesley did. This present deliverance from sin, however, though predominantly pressed as an immediate need, is ever held, both by Wesley and us, as including the more distant deliverance from hell. The hell of a future world is truly *sin gone to seed*; the essence of a future heaven is the perfect blessedness of perfected holiness. Hence, while hell and heaven are in the distant prospect, present deliverance from sin and present perfected holiness fill our present thoughts as the very essence of our "present salvation." It is by clinging to this beautiful Wesleyan view of a "present salvation" that our Methodism at this hour still glows with the fervor of her early years. Not one hairs-breadth have we swerved—we fervently pray that not one hairs-breadth we may ever swerve—from Wesley on this point. Our spirituality will then weather through "the next fifty years," of which the Reviewer kindly forewarns us. The last extract, with the Reviewer's italics, is in the following words:

"Have we not farther ground for thankfulness, yea, and strong consolation, in the blessed hope which is given us, that the time is at hand when righteousness shall be as universal as unrighteousness is now? Allowing that the whole creation now groaneth together under the man of sin; our comfort is, *it will not always groan*. God will arise and maintain his own cause; and *the whole creation shall be delivered both from moral and natural corruption*. Sin and its consequence, pain, *shall be no more!* holiness and happiness will cover the earth. Then shall all the ends of the world see the salvation of our God. *And the whole race of mankind shall know, and love, and serve God, and reign with him for ever and ever.*"—P. 333.

In our boyhood, (if we may quote some personal reminiscences,) while in academic preparation for college, we read a number

of Universalist books by Balfour, Ballou, and others. In our course of reading was a history of Universalism, of which the author's name, we think, was Brown, who had once been a Methodist preacher. In his book, we seem to remember, this very extract was given, for the same purpose, of showing Wesley a Universalist. From all this we infer that this passage is a hereditary and permanent staple with our Universalist friends. Our farther dim reminiscence is, that we turned to Wesley's Sermons, found the passage, and, assuming that the making the quotation originated with Brown, we drew the conclusion that Brown was not a reliable quoter. We have not since reversed that conclusion. We are even obliged to feel that our Reviewer, who has inherited the delusive quotation, must also inherit his share of reputation for unreliability. We frankly suggest to the able editor of the "Universalist Quarterly," Dr. Thayer, that Universalism has at the present time scholarly and critical men enough, who must be sensible of the wrong done to themselves by an established set of deceptive or palpably misconstrued quotations, and who ought to revise their stock of this kind of capital. And we also suggest to the Reviewer that it belongs to a conscientious citer of passages *first*, to quote, when practicable, from the original author; *second*, to state where in that author the passage may be found; and *third*, above all things, to beware of overlaying the quoted words with a meaning unintended by their author. A due observance of these rules would—not have made him adduce these passages more correctly, but—have entirely prevented his adducing any one of them at all.

Mr. Wesley would very plainly affirm a salvation of a "whole race of mankind;" but it is of a "whole race of mankind" at one particular period living on earth. This is far from including, in the absolute, the entire race through all ages descended from Adam. Nothing is more natural than for the census-man to say that the whole race of mankind numbers so many millions; meaning *the race now living*. There are philosophers who believe that, by a law of progress, "the race" is tending to perfection, until finally "the whole race of mankind" will walk the earth perfected beings; that is, the race then living.

The passage quoted is to be found at the close of the sixty-

sixth, in Mr. Wesley's edition of his collected sermons. Let it be remembered that these sermons were by him collected, carefully revised and published, as embodying the divinity bequeathed by him to the world, and especially to Methodism. They have been accepted, so far as their proper theological doctrines are concerned, in England and America as standards. Neither the Methodists of America, nor the Wesleyans of England, have ever read any thing like Universalism, or any other *ism* they do not indorse, into this paragraph. Neither the contemporaries of Mr. Wesley, nor his personal friends, ever suspected that either in these words, or any other words, he avowed the least momentary belief in Universalism. Of all the lives published, not one has furnished any sentence, any momentary anecdotal remark, of his indicating a leaning to the actual salvation of all mankind. Very incredible, then, that such should be the true meaning of these words, written and deliberately published by Wesley, and staring all Methodism in the face from that day to this!

A little later, in this same volume, is a terrible sermon on Hell, describing its fearful conditions, and asserting its absolute perpetuity of suffering. Between the two, in the volume, is a sermon on The Universal Spread of the Gospel. We shall make parallel extracts from these three sermons, including the passage quoted, to enable the reader to judge whether that passage affirms the salvation of any more than the race in the latter day on the earth.

From Sermon on "General Spread of the Gospel."—
Ser. 68.

"It will not be always thus. . . . God . . . will never intermit . . . until he hath put a period to sin, and misery, and infirmity; and death, and re-established universal holiness and happiness, and caused all the inhabitants of the earth to sing together, Hallelujah! the Lord God omnipotent reigneth!"

"*On the Mystery of Iniquity.*"—Ser. 66.

"*On Hell.*"

—Ser. 78.

"It will not always groan; . . . the whole creation shall then be delivered both from moral and natural corruption. Sin, and its consequence, pain, shall be no more: holiness and happiness will cover the earth. Then shall all the ends of the world see the salvation of our God, and the whole race of mankind shall know, and love, and serve God, and reign with him for ever and ever."—[The extract quoted in the *Universalist Quarterly*.]

"The inhabitants of hell have nothing to divert them from their torments, even for a moment. . . . Every instant of their duration they are tremblingly alive. . . . And of this duration there is no end! . . . Such is the account which the Judge of all the earth gives of the punishment which he has ordained for impenitent sinners."

The first two of these extracts are plainly parallel in meaning. The one finishes up, positively, the glorious results on earth of the triumphant spread of the Gospel; the second, negatively, paints the results on earth of the overthrow of iniquity. But these results do not spread beyond the earth, and terminate or mitigate the torments of hell, as they are described in the third extract; for of their "duration there is no end." But, in the second extract, "the whole race of mankind" is expressly limited, as being the "whole" within a given area; namely, not hell, but "the earth," "the ends of the world," "the whole creation." We submit that our Universalist friends have no right to quote this passage in proof of Wesley's belief of the salvation of all the descendants of Adam from sin or "hell."

It is in his attempt to show, by way of retort, that *Methodism has varied from her founder, Wesley*, that our Reviewer, from making second-hand and falsifying quotations, commits a most disastrous failure. To show how we *have departed from Wesley in ecclesiastical policy* he adduces two paragraphs from a hostile author, Rev. George H. Randall, in the Pitts-street Chapel Lectures; paragraphs which contain not only truth so stated as to convey falsehood, but actual falsehood, and even forgery, of important and hinging words, surreptitiously imputed to Wesley. Our Reviewer, upon reviewing himself, must see that his procedure in quoting is rather questionable. There exist many lives of Wesley and histories of our founding by standard authors—Southey, Richard Watson, Henry Moore, Dr. Stevens, and, within the last year, republished by the Harpers, the elaborate *Life of Wesley*, by Tyerman—all going over this subject. What excuse, then, has our Reviewer for ignoring all these authentic and original authorities and taking up, second-hand, the one-sided statements of a hostile polemic? By so doing he has made himself partaker of another man's sins—sins, as we shall show, of a tolerably deep turpitude. We give Mr. Randall's two paragraphs as they stand quoted in the *Universalist Quarterly*:

"At a meeting of their preachers in 1744 he says, 'I exhorted them to keep to the Church, observing that this was our peculiar glory—not to form any new sect, but, abiding in our own Church, to do to all men all the good we possibly could.' On

another occasion, a strong sectarian spirit having shown itself, Mr. Wesley persuaded his followers to resolve, without a dissenting voice, that 'It is by no means expedient that the Methodists should leave the Church of England.' So strongly did this feeling show itself, that the declaration was inserted in the first rules of their society: 'They that leave the Church leave us.' 'And this we did,' says Mr. Wesley, 'not as a point of prudence, but a point of conscience.' In 1789, two years before his death, he said, 'I declare once more that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it.' In a sermon preached about this time in Cork 'he declared to the preachers in his Connection that they had no right to baptize and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.'

"Again, Mr. Wesley, when he was eighty years of age, in a private chamber of a public-house in Bristol, England, was induced to lay his hands upon the head of Rev. Dr. Coke, a presbyter of the Church of England, appointing him as a *superintendent* over the missionary operations of the Methodists in America. On Dr. Coke's arrival in this country he proceeded to lay his hands on the head of a Mr. Asbury, a layman, and thereby ordained him to the same office of superintendent. These two men soon began to call themselves bishops. When Mr. Wesley heard of this, he immediately rebuked their arrogation of an office and title which he never pretended to have conveyed. In a letter to Mr. Asbury he says: '*How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be elected a bishop?* I shudder, I start, at the very thought. For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, put an end to this.'

The first of these two paragraphs furnishes the proofs that Wesley to the last insisted that the *English* Methodists should not leave the Church, that his *unordained English* preachers had no right to baptize or administer the sacraments, and that Wesley died a professed member of the Church of England. All this is verbally true. But it is so shaped, and purposely shaped, as to make the uninformed reader think (as it has our Reviewer) that on these points *American* Methodism had deserted Wesley. Now what has our Reviewer to say to the true history of the Church? In consequence of our becoming an independent nation Wesley gave us our present

polity of an *independent* Church with ordained Bishops—*independent* of the English Church; *independent* of the Americo-Anglican Church. We have retained precisely the very unchanged polity Wesley gave us. Our eight bishops elected and ordained last May are the true successional descendants by ordination, by the ritual laying on of hands, from Wesley through Coke. So far from deserting Wesley herein, we, the American Methodist Episcopal Church, have obeyed him to the letter.

The second paragraph is still worse. It contains a forgery of a word or two, falsely imputed to Wesley, vital to the discussion, as the following comparison will show:

WESLEY'S REAL WORDS.

"How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be *called* bishop? I shudder, I start, at the very thought? Men may *call* me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never, by my consent, *call* me a bishop. For my sake, for God's sake, put an end to this."—*Tyerman's Wesley*, vol. iii, p. 438. [The italics are our own.]

MR. RANDALL'S SUBSTITUTE.

"*How can you, how dare you, suffer yourself to be elected a bishop?* I shudder, I start, at the very thought. For my sake, for God's sake, put an end to this." [The italics are Mr. Randall's, or the Reviewer's.]

Mr. Randall's forgery consists in surreptitiously substituting the word "elected" for Wesley's word "called," and striking out a requisite sentence. And this one substituted word makes all the difference in the issue. Mr. Wesley never objected to Asbury's being "elected" or ordained bishop. He himself ordained Coke bishop, with the intention that Coke should ordain Asbury bishop. What he objected to was the being "called" so. And hence, Wesley uses the verb *call* three times. And Mr. Randall, in order to be as economical of forgery as possible, strikes out the next entire sentence in order to avoid this word—a fact which indicates his conscious dishonesty. The omitted sentence would, if inserted in line with Mr. Randall's forgery, make Wesley say that he would rather *be* a scoundrel than a bishop! Wesley, at first, intended that our American bishops should be called by the Latin word *superintendent*, a synonym of the Greek word *bishop*, just as *elder* is synonymous with *presbyter*. He preferred the Latin word because the Greek term, being worn

by the English bishops, had an air of pomp exceedingly annoying to him in England. As that feeling did not exist in America, where no pompous hierarchy wore the name, our people preferring the Episcopal form of polity sent over by Wesley, preferred also the Episcopal word. They called themselves the "Methodist Episcopal Church," with Wesley's subsequent approbation. They placed his name, with at least his silent concurrence, on the printed Minutes as "exercising the Episcopal office." It may be added that Wesley in the same letter reprehended the application of the name "college" to Cokesbury College, established in Virginia by the American Methodists, clearly evincing that he disapproved not the *thing* but the *name*.

All this ground has been gone over by our writers so many times and so fully, and even during the past year, in our Quarterly, and is so well understood by our people, that it is unnecessary for us to prosecute the subject farther. Every now and then, however, a green outsider turns up with this "mare's nest," fresh and new. But seldom have we encountered a writer who undertakes to treat the subject with such a minimum of knowledge as Mr. Whitney; and the first instance of outright forgery is detected in Mr. Randall. If the Reviewer wishes to *know* a little something about the subject he so unwisely discusses, let him read Dr. Stevens's Appendix to the third volume of Tyerman's Wesley, published by the Harpers.

SOUTHERN REVIEW, July, 1872. (St. Louis).—1. Apostolical Succession. 2. Southern Voices. 3. A Survey of the Churches. 4. Hume's Philosophy. 5. Hon. A. H. Stephens, D.D., on the Late War. 6. Romance of Real Life. 7. London and its People. 8. D. D. Whedon, D.D.

Dr. Bledsoe has now devoted nearly sixty pages of two numbers of his Quarterly to "D. D. Whedon, D.D.," in which he has prostituted the office of honorable criticism to the gratification of personal spite. As his former article contained three tangible moral charges of literary theft against the individual named, we employed ten pages in self-defense, rolling back upon this personal calumniator the demonstrations of his own mendacity. Our work was completely and conclusively done. A glance at his article in the present number reveals the fact that Dr. Bledsoe neither has said, nor can say, any thing in that strain that demands a farther answer.

English Reviews.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1872. (New York: Reprint—Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. William of Occam. 2. Wit and Humor. 3. Report of the Commissioners on Coal. 4. Marco Polo's Travels. 5. An Ecclesiastical Tournament in Edinburgh. 6. The Agricultural Laborers' Strike. 7. Germany: Prussian Influence on its Literature. 8. Results of Disestablishment in Ireland.

LONDON QUARTERLY, July, 1872. (London.)—1. The Post-Office. 2. Logic and Logical Studies in England. 3. The Old and the New Catholics. 4. John Wesley in Mature and Later Life. 5. The German Protestant League. 6. The Life of Thomas Cooper.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1872. (New York: Reprinted by the Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Pilgrimages to the Shrines of England. 2. The Reign of Terror, and its Secret Police. 3. Mr. John Stuart Mill and his School. 4. Italian Painting. 5. The Revision of the English Bible. 6. The Stuarts. 7. England and France: their Customs, Manners, and Morality. 8. Competitive Examination and the Civil Service. 9. Priests, Parliaments, and Electors.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1872. (New York: Reprinted by the Leonard Scott Publishing Company, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Sovereignty: Royal and Representative. 2. English Philology. 3. Greek Lyrical Poetry. 4. Dr. Newman: The Difficulties of Protestantism. 5. The Politics of Aristotle. 6. André Chénier: Poet and Political Martyr. 7. Recent Experiments with the Senses.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1872. (New York: Reprint—Leonard Scott, 140 Fulton-street.)—1. Complete Works of Bishop Berkeley. 2. The Stuarts of St. Germain. 3. Helps' Thoughts upon Government. 4. The Popes and the Italian Humanists. 5. The Southern States since the War. 6. Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal. 7. Researches on Life and Disease. 8. Reform in Japan. 9. The Bennett Judgment.

The article on the "Southern States since the War" conveys to us a clearer view of the whole field than we have derived from any other source. It is mainly based upon a volume by a Mr. Somers, of which the following account is given: "The great resources of these Southern States are scarcely understood even in the Northern States, and are almost unknown to the rest of the world. Their peculiar domestic institution made the Southern people jealous of the observing eyes of foreigners, and induced them to cultivate an almost Chinese isolation. Since the war they have been jealous of the influence of Northern immigrants upon the negroes, and have not encouraged intercourse. Mr. Robert Somers, as an Englishman and a man of business, found none of this jealousy. He set out from Washington in the autumn of 1870, and traveled over the whole South, every-where noting the commercial and industrial condition and resources of the country, and gathering an immense mass of the most valuable information. His volume, though without literary arrangement or finish—

rudis indigestaque moles as to its form, and as to its abundant matter

Congestaque eoden
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum—

is the most complete account yet given to the public of the condition and prospects of the Southern States since the war."—P. 79.

RUIN OF THE SOUTH BY THE WAR.

After describing the iron system of the slaveholding oligarchy before the war, the Reviewer describes thus the results of the war: "The failure of the Confederation shattered this whole social structure as none was ever shattered before. It not only freed the slaves, but it enslaved the masters. It not only ruined the political position of the planters, but destroyed their commercial prosperity. During those years of supreme effort and agony, when the country was first isolated from the outer world and then ravaged by the incursions of a victorious enemy, the labor system became disorganized, the land fell out of cultivation, the railways and roads were broken up, and many of the most prosperous towns were laid in ruins. Mr. Somers, who spent the latter months of 1870 and the early part of 1871 in a tour of intelligent observation in the Southern States, found, even then, that the trail of the war was everywhere visible. In the magnificent valley of the Tennessee he found 'burnt-up gin-houses, ruined bridges, mills, and factories, of which latter the gable walls are only left standing, and large tracts of once cultivated land stripped of every vestige of fencing. The roads, long neglected, are in disorder, and having in many places become impassable, new tracks have to be made through the woods and fields, without much respect to boundaries. Borne down by losses, debts, and accumulating taxes, many who were once the richest among their fellows have disappeared from the scene, and few have yet risen to take their place.' This unhappy valley is no exception; all over the South the same ruin spread. The commercial ruin was even worse. The mere money loss in the abolition of slavery was four hundred millions sterling, though the loss was one by which civilization and humanity have gained. The banking capital, estimated at two hundred millions, was, says Mr. Somers, 'swamped in the extinction of all

profitable banking business, and finally in a residuary flood of worthless Confederate money. The whole insurance capital of the South—probably a hundred millions more—also perished. The well-organized cotton, sugar, and tobacco plantations, mills, factories, coal and iron mines, and commercial and industrial establishments, built up by private capital—the value of which, in millions of pounds sterling, cannot be computed—all sank, and were engulfed in the same wave. Every form of mortgage claim, with the exception of two or three proud State stocks, shared for the time being the fate of the principal, and only now crop up amid the subsiding deluge like the stumps of a submerged forest.' But no description of these losses can so powerfully set them forth as the figures of the census returns of the value of property in 1870 as compared with 1860. The valuation of Virginia and West Virginia was \$480,800,267 in 1870; it had been \$657,021,336 in 1860. South Carolina had diminished in taxable value during the ten years from \$489,319,128 to \$174,409,491. Mississippi stood at a valuation of \$509,427,912 in the year before the war; four years after the war it was valued at only \$154,635,527. Louisiana fell to about half its former valuation; Florida to less than half; unfortunate Georgia to less than one third. Mr. David Wells, the late Special Commissioner of Revenue, in his last official report estimates the direct expenditure and loss of property by the Confederate States by reason of the war at \$2,700,000,000. Mr. Wells thus describes the condition in which the South was left: 'In 1865 this section of our country, which in 1860 represented nearly one third of the entire population, and, omitting the value of the slaves, nearly two sevenths of the aggregate wealth of the nation, found itself, as the result of four years of civil war, entirely prostrate; without industry, without tools, without money, credit, or crops; deprived of local self-government, and to a great extent of all political privileges; the flower of its youth in the hospitals, or dead upon the battle-fields; with society disorganized, and starvation imminent or actually present. To this dark picture one darker line must be added. Southern society was demoralized by defeat. A profound discouragement settled down over the whole surface of the land. High-spirited and chivalrous as it

had been, the South might be described at the close of the war, in the language of the prophet, as "a nation scattered and peeled, a people terrible from their beginning hitherto, a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled."—"Pp. 77, 78.

BREAKING UP OF LARGE ESTATES.

"The first effect of the abolition of slavery has been the break-up of the great estates. In Virginia the land question occupies the foremost place. Under slavery the land was owned by slave-owners, who held large estates which they never fully cultivated, but on which they shifted their crops from one place to another, leaving the soil to recover in fallow what had been taken out of it by idle, inefficient, and wasteful culture. Under freedom they find it necessary to hold no more land than their capital will enable them to keep in cultivation; hence it is every-where being forced on the market. This land is to be bought at a price which in England would be regarded as a low sum for the annual rent. 'The landed property of a great and long-settled State,' Mr. Somers says, 'is literally going a-begging for people to come and take it.' Farms small and large, with roads and railways near them, with good society in their neighborhood and good markets for their produce, are to be had at less than four pounds an acre. One estate of eight hundred acres, 'land good, with abundance of green-sand marl only four feet below the surface,' could be bought at fifteen dollars an acre. . . . Yet, notwithstanding the diminution of the area of cultivation, the cultivation has itself so much improved as to give a relatively larger produce. Mr. Wells says of the crop which had just come in when his official report was issued: 'The new cotton is far superior in cleanliness, strength, uniformity of fiber, and absence of waste, to any ever before sent to market; while a new variety, originating in Mississippi, "the *Peeler*," has been introduced and brought to market, which commands a price from twenty-five to thirty per cent. higher than green-seed cotton of the same grade, because of the superior staple.'"—P. 80.

NEGRO PROGRESS.

"It is already abundantly evident that the prophecies which abounded during the war of the speedy extinction of the negro

race are not likely to be fulfilled. In the change from slavery to freedom the slaves suffered less than their masters. In 1860 the slave population was 3,953,760, and the free colored population numbered 488,070, a total of 4,441,830. In 1870 the free colored population was 4,880,009, an increase of nearly ten per cent. in a population which is not fed by any immigration, and which can only increase by actual natural growth. Mr. Somers says that it is admitted in all classes of Southern society that the negroes are rising to comfort, and that even a mere transient wayfarer could not help being struck by the evidence given him in the great number of colored men of the laboring class and of happy colored families that are everywhere met. But some statistics of savings prove this fact more conclusively than any observation. The Freedmen's Bureau founded a National Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. This company has branches, or rather independent offshoots, planted in every town in the South, and the whole are under Government supervision. These savings banks have already in charge more than two millions of dollars, which are almost entirely the property of freedmen. In the office of the Charleston bank there may be seen in any forenoon a crowd of negroes paying in small sums, or withdrawing little amounts, or sending small remittances to distant relations or creditors. There were in this Charleston bank a year and a half ago 2,790 deposit accounts, of which nine tenths were kept by negroes, and the average sum to the credit of each depositor was about sixty dollars. These men usually have an object in saving; they desire to own a mule and cart, or a house, or a strip of land, or a shop, or in some way to get a sense of independence, even if it is only by the provision of a small fund to fall back on in case of sickness, old age, or accident, or to leave to their families in case of death. In the annual message which Governor Alcorn addressed to the Legislature of the State of Mississippi last year he gave some important statistics illustrating the condition of the colored people in that State. In thirty-one counties the number of marriage licenses issued to colored people was five hundred and sixty-four in the year 1865, the first year of freedom. In the following year the number rose to 3,679; in the year 1870 it was 3,427. Mr. Alcorn considers that this large number of

negro marriages, which of course includes some ratifications of unions previously contracted under slavery, is a sign of the facility with which the colored people are exchanging a condition of outlawry for a condition of civilization. The negro marriages are somewhat more prolific than those of white persons, but more of their children die young, and even the adults are not as hardy as the whites. There is a most encouraging increase in other indications of progress. The churches for a colored population of 179,677 have increased from one hundred and five in 1865 to two hundred and eighty-three in 1870; the number of schools open to a colored population of 180,527 has increased from nineteen in 1865 to one hundred and forty-eight in 1870, while the number of teachers has increased in much larger proportion. There are also signs of the gradual rise of a class of negro tenant-farmers and negro owners. Mr. Alcorn notes with regret that freedom allows many negroes to yield to drunken and dissolute habits; but over against this fact he puts another. In twenty-three counties of the State of Mississippi 40,551 bales of cotton were grown in 1869 by colored tenant-farmers, and in 1870 the produce reached 50,978 bales. In twenty counties 6,141 bales of cotton were produced in 1870 by colored owners of the soil. Small landed-proprietors, tenant-farmers, shop-keepers, teachers, preachers, are thus constituting a negro middle class, who will be the natural protectors of the vast mass below them."—P. 83.

The Reviewer rightly says that the real need of the South, which she will doubtless attain before many years, is direct trade with Europe, releasing her from her dependence upon New York. The tariff, which he describes as very oppressive upon the South, will be of little consequence if the South is wise. Slavery was the great obstacle in the way of Southern manufactures. Under a new system the South will plant her manufactories beside the cotton fields, and that dependence upon England which the reviewer calculates to be permanent will be quite as evanescent as the dependence upon New York. What the South needs is statesmen of a different type from Jefferson Davis, and political philosophers quite the reverse of Dr. Bledsoe.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) Fourth number, 1872.—*Essays*: 1. SCHURER, The ἄρχυτεῖς (High Priests) in the New Testament. 2. GRIMM, The Problem of the First Epistle of Peter. *Remarks*: 1. BENDER, Critical Remarks on Miracles. 2. ZYRO, On Matt. vi, 11, ("Give us this day our daily bread.") 3. ZYRO, Remarks on James iv, 5. 4. SAYRE, The Besieger of Samaria. 5. SCHRADER, Reply to the preceding article. *Reviews*: 1. KAMPHAUSEN, The Pentateuch in the new Anglican Bible work. 2. SPIESS, Logos Spermaticos, reviewed by ENGELHARD.

A prefatory notice to this number of the *Studien* announces the death of Dr. C. B. Hundeshagen, one of its editors, which occurred at Bonn on June 2. A full biographical notice of the deceased scholar will be given in one of the next numbers.

The first article in the present number, which has been written by a young *privatdocent* in the theological faculty of the University of Leipzig, discusses in a very lucid and exhaustive manner the true meanings of the expression "high priests" in the New Testament. As Israel had always only *one* acting high priest at a time, exegetical writers have always found it a matter of some difficulty to explain how the New Testament could speak of a plurality of "high priests," who are clearly represented as the leading men in Israel. Most of the ancient Church fathers thought that the expression embraced solely those who really had formerly held the office of acting high priest; and, among modern writers, this view has been defended by Jost (*Geschichte des Judenthums*, 1857) and by Derenbourg, (*Essai sur l'Histoire et la Geographie de la Palestine*, t. i, 1867.) Others, like Fritzsche and Grimm, understood by this expression the heads of the twenty-four classes into which, according to 1 Chron. xxiv, the Jewish priesthood was divided. Olshausen, Meyer, and Bleek combined both views, and included in the term the acting high priests, the former high priests, and the heads of the twenty-four classes. As the New Testament generally mentions the high priests as members of the Synedrium, other writers, as Friedlieb, Langen, and Schegg, regarded "high priests" as the official name of the assistant members of the Synedrium, to which in their opinion the acting high priest and the former high priests did not belong. Dr. Haneberg, (recently appointed Bishop of Spires,) in his work on the religious antiquities of the Bible, (*Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel*, 1869,) explained the name as embracing the acting high priests, the former high priests, the clerical

members of the Synedrion, and the clerical officers of the temple. Wieseler regarded the "high priests" as the prominent men among the priests, no matter whether they were at the head of the great Sanhedrin or of other state offices; and he excluded from their number the acting high priest. Wichelhaus, in fine, understood by high priests the acting high priests, "and all those who either had formerly been invested with the office of high priest, or belonged to the privileged families to which this office was attached." Dr. Schürer briefly shows that all these views, with the exception of the first and the last, are untenable, and he then undertakes to prove that all the places of the New Testament in which the expression high priests occurs can best be explained by the adoption of the last-mentioned view, (which includes the first.) In order to prove the correctness of his explanation, this author gives the list of the twenty-eight persons who, from B. C. 37 to A. D. 70, held the office of acting high priest, with a biographical notice of each, and treats at length of the five families of Phabi, Boethos, Kantheras, Ananos, and Kamith, to which almost every one of these high priests belonged, and which, it seems, claimed the privilege of filling this office by rotation.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Professor A. HILGENFELD. Fourth number, 1872.—1. HILGENFELD, Contributions to the History of the "Union-Paulinism," (*Unions-Paulinism.*) 2. HARMSEN, On the Doxology in Romans ix, 5. 3. GRIMM, On Luther's Translation of Jesus Sirach. 4. SEVIN, Notice of a Manuscript of the Vulgate, which has thus far been unknown to Science. 5. HILGENFELD, The so-called "Muratorian Fragment."

The so-called Muratorian Fragment is a list of the books of the New Testament which were generally accepted by the ancient Catholic Church. It is a document of very small dimensions, for it fills only one and a half leaves (leaf 10 and the first page of leaf 11) of a manuscript which on the title-page bears the name of Chrysostome, and which on the first nine leaves contains extracts from Eucherius of Lugdunum. But, notwithstanding its small dimensions, the document has a great theological interest, for it is the earliest list of the books of the New Testament which is at present extant, and it, therefore, is of incalculable importance for the history of the canon of the New Testament. Professor Hilgenfeld, in the above article, infers, from the fact that the episcopacy of the Roman bishop Pius (135 to 155) is referred to with the words "nuper-

rime temporibus nostris," (very recently in our times,) that the work to which the fragment belonged was written toward the close of the second century of the Christian era. The mention of the "Asian Kataphrygians," and the circumstance that the years are counted from Pius as Bishop of the "city of Rome," and Rome is simply designated as "the city," indicate, according to Hilgenfeld, that the book originated in the western part of the Roman Empire. The language of the Fragment is Latin ; but Hilgenfeld, after the precedence of Hug and Bunsen, holds that the book was originally composed in Greek, and that we only have a Latin translation. He has previously undertaken to prove this view in his work on the Canon of the New Testament, (*Kanon und Kritik des Neuen Testamente*), published in 1863, in which he also published the Latin text and retranslated it into Greek. A number of learned essays have since been published on the subject. The Dane, C. E. Scharling, (*Muratori's Kanon. Den oudste fortægnelse over den Christeligen kirkes neutestam. Skrifter.* Copenhagen, 1865,) and the Germans, J. C. Laurent (*Neutestamentliche Studien.* Gotha, 1866) and E. Schrader, (in his new [eighth] edition of De Wette's "Manual of Introduction into the Old Testament." Berlin, 1869,) defend against Hilgenfeld the originality of the Latin text ; while Professor G. Volkmar, of Zurich, (*Der Ursprung unserer Evangelien nach den Urkunden, laut den neueren Entdeckungen und Verhandlungen.* Zurich, 1866,) and the Dutch theologian, A. D. Loman, both of whom formerly were in favor of the Latin text, now admit with Hilgenfeld the Greek origin. A special work on the subject was published in 1867 by Tregelles, ("Canon Muratorianus ; the Earliest Catalogue of the New Testament, edited, with Notes and a Fac-simile of the Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan." Oxford,) and another new edition, by Loman, in one of the theological periodicals of Holland, (*Theologisk Tijdschrift*, 1868, II.) Comparing the results of this new literature, Hilgenfeld has published again, in the above number of the Journal for Scientific Theology, the whole of the Latin text, as well as a revision of his Greek translation, with notes, and, in conclusion, gives a brief summary of the contents. As is the case with most of the ancient documents, the true meaning of some sentences may be disputed, and other writers may put a different con-

struction upon some of the most important passages, or draw from them entirely different inferences. In the opinion of Hilgenfeld, the Muratorian Fragment mentions as biblical books recognized by the Church the four Gospels, the Acts, thirteen Epistles of Paul—namely, two to the Corinthians, the Thessalonians, and Timotheus, and one each to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, the Galatians, the Romans, Philemon, and Titus—the First Epistle of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Second Epistle of John, (the two latter, however, as epistles written by friends of Jude and John,) and the Apocalypse of John. It also mentions an “Apocalypse of Peter,” with the remark that some do not wish it to be publicly read in church. With regard to the “pastor of Hermas,” it expressly states that this book did not originate in the apostolical times, that it was written by a brother of Bishop Pius of Rome, and that, therefore, it should be read, but excluded from a liturgical use, and not be received among the prophetic or apostolical writings. Of our canonical books, the Epistle of James, the two Epistles of Peter, and the Third Epistle of John are not mentioned at all. Expressly excluded from the Canon of the Catholic Church are two epistles which the Muratorian Fragment says were spuriously ascribed to Paul by the adherents of Marcion, namely, an Epistle to the Laodiceans and an epistle to the Alexandrines. The former, it is thought, was a Marcionite corruption of the canonical epistle to the Ephesians; the latter is regarded by Hilgenfeld (after the precedence of Semler and other rationalistic theologians) as being identical with the canonical epistle to the Hebrews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.)
Fourth number, 1872.—1. HERZOG, Blaise Pascal; A Sketch of his Life and his Writings. 2. KOHLER, M. Sebastian Fröschel; a Contribution to the History of the Reformation. 3. Two hitherto unknown Letters of Melanchthon, published by KOLDEWEY. 4. WALTE, Contributions to the Church History of Bremen in the Time of the Reformation.

Among the greatest men in the modern history of the Roman Catholic Church undoubtedly belongs Blaise Pascal. By the nearly unanimous consent of all who have read his works he is still esteemed as a talented thinker and inventor, as the creator of the French classic prose, as one of the first promoters of the study of natural sciences in France, as one of the keenest and most eloquent apologists of the Christian religion. Inflexibly attached to the Roman Catholic Church, he was an

uncompromising opponent of Protestantism, but at the same time an untiring foe of the Jesuits, whom he denounced as the authors of false, immoral, and most dangerous doctrines. His life is of special interest at a time when again those elements in the Roman Catholic Church which are more Christian than Papal are revolting against the most monstrous of all Jesuitic innovations, the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. The article in the present number of the *Journal for Historical Theology*, by Professor Herzog, the learned editor of the great Theological Encyclopedia of Germany, is as interesting as timely.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF FRANCE.—The year 1872 will long be memorable in the history of French Protestantism. The two State Churches of France—the Reformed and the Lutheran—after having been for more than two centuries deprived of the right of meeting in national conventions, have at length recovered a right, for the restoration of which the different Governments of the country have long been petitioned in vain. The General Synod of the Reformed Church met in Paris on June 6. It was the first General Synod of the Church since 1659, when a General Synod was held in Loudun; for the synods which are known in Church history under the name of Synods of the Desert were by no means a full representation of the Reformed Church. At the General Synod of Loudun, the royal commissary, M. de la Magdelaine, invited the Synod to transfer its powers to provincial synods, considering, he said, that in future the king would not authorize these kinds of assemblies. In reply to the commissary, the moderator of the General Synod, Daillé, bravely stood up for the right of the Church. “We admit,” he said, “that we cannot convoke our general assemblies without a great deal of trouble and great expense, but as the holding of these synods is for us an absolute necessity, we gladly incur the expense and the trouble which, on its account, we have to endure. If the different subjects which are brought before these synods could be disposed of in any other way, we should gladly forego the trouble of traveling from one corner of the country to another for the purpose of holding a conference of several weeks. But as it is entirely impossible that our religion can be preserved without holding assemblies of this kind, we hope that our sovereign will permit that our deputy-general ask his Majesty to allow such assemblies to be convoked.” The permission so ardently implored was not given. The Church remained without a national synod and without self-government, and, chiefly in consequence of its servile condition, it became torn by internal divisions, and reduced

to a crippled condition. The Synod was opened with a sermon of Pastor Babut, of Nimes. As the Synod contains an Orthodox and a Rationalistic party, his task was one of great difficulty; but, taking as the subject of his sermon Jesus Christ, the foundation of every Christian belief, he knew how to give satisfaction to both parties. But the proceedings of the Synod at once revealed the irreconcilable difference of the doctrinal systems of the two parties. The first important question which presented itself to the Synod was that of its own competency. Could this General Synod be regarded as the supreme representative of the Reformed Church of France, and would its decisions be valid laws for the Reformed Church? or has the Synod, on the other hand, only an advisory character, and must it be regarded as an assembly of Protestant notables convoked by the State Government for the purpose of giving information on the situation of the Church, and on the best way of introducing reforms? The Liberal party, knowing that their Orthodox opponents had a decided majority in the Synod, at once declared unanimously against the supreme authority of the Synod, which was energetically defended by the evangelical party. The Liberals took the ground that the present General Synod could not be a legal authority in the Reformed Church, because the organic articles of the law of the 18th *germinal* of Year X, which regulates the Constitution of the Church, do not mention the General Synod. This law only speaks of the provincial synods. Moreover, the present Synod has been elected by the provincial synods, which, in their turn, were only a delegation of the consistories. The consistories represent a highly unequal number of electors, (some not more than one thousand, others more than thirty thousand,) but, nevertheless, send the same number of delegates to the provincial synod. The General Synod, therefore, is not a fair representation of the Protestant population of France. The Orthodox party, on the other hand, urged that the law of the 18th *germinal*, as well as the law of 1852, expressly recognized the discipline of the Reformed Church, which, in its turn, is altogether based on the synodal presbyterian system. Portalis, in his speeches before the Council of State, alluded to the General Synod, the legality of which he implicitly recognized. This legality was also recognized by the Government of the Second Empire, which several times promised the convocation of the Synod, and by the present Government, which expressly recognized it in the decree of convocation. The boundaries of the consistories, it is admitted, greatly vary; but, in reply, it is urged that every consistory represents a kind of individuality, and that the small consistories should not be crushed by the larger ones. Moreover, what could the State Government do? Introduce, of its own accord, a new electoral system? There would have been a general outcry against such a usurpation of power. The State Government could not have acted more impartially than by restoring to the Reformed Church the right of self-government, and to leave to the highest board known to the Church, the General Synod, the final settlement of all questions of reform. The vote on the question revealed the numerical strength of the two parties. A motion by the

Evangelical majority, to lay the motion denying the competency of the General Synod on the table, was adopted by sixty-one against forty-one votes. The question of the authority of the General Synod having been settled, a doctrinal question at once presented itself, on which the opinions of the two parties differed still more radically. In the name of the Evangelical party, Professor Blois proposed a profession of faith, declaring that the Reformed Church "proclaims, with her fathers and her martyrs, in the confession of La Rochelle, with all the Churches of the Reformation in her symbols, the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, only Son of God, who died for our offenses, and rose again for our justification; and that she, therefore, preserves and maintains, as the basis of her teaching, her public worship, and her discipline, the great Christian facts represented in her sacraments, celebrated in her religious solemnities, and expressed in her liturgies, more especially in the confession of sins, in the Apostles' Creed, and the liturgy of the Holy Supper." An animated debate of ten days' duration ensued upon this motion, the Liberals opposing it with all their might. It was finally adopted, (June 20th,) by a vote of sixty-one to forty-five, as the basis of the doctrine of the Church. Motions by the Liberals that the Confession of Faith should be simply communicated to the Churches under the form of a synodical letter; that it should be simply recommended to the Churches, and not obligatory upon them; and that no disciplinary consequences should follow its promulgation, were voted down by the same majority as that by which the Confession was adopted.

The following rule regarding the qualifications of electors was adopted: "An elector in the Church must declare himself attached heartily (*de cœur*) to the Protestant Reformed Church of France, and to the revealed truth as it is contained in the sacred books of the Old and New Testament." This rule received seventy-seven votes. No votes were recorded against it, but twenty-four members abstained from voting, and seven members were absent. Proposals were made by the Left for the representation of minorities in Churches in the various bodies, but they were not acceded to.

On Saturday, July 6th, the following rule was adopted, in reference to the admission of candidates for the ministry: "Every candidate for the ministry in the Reformed Church of France must adhere to the faith of the Church as defined by the General Synod at the beginning of the session." This received sixty-two votes to thirty-nine cast against it; seven members were absent.

The general effect of the action of the Synod is to permit the Unitarian members and ministers to remain in the Church, and to vote upon declaring attachment to the Church and the revealed truth of the Old and New Testaments, but to prevent the ordination, in the future, of ministers who will not subscribe to the Confession of Faith.

The following resolution, on the separation of Church and State, was agreed to: "The Synod, considering that the principle of the reciprocal independence of the Churches and of the State ought to be introduced into modern public law; considering that the Reformed Church of France is

disposed for its part to accept with confidence its separation from the State when the Government shall deem it necessary for all religious bodies, the Synod deems it well to urge the Church to prepare for this separation."

The synodal presbyterian form of government was decided upon. The pastors are to be nominated by a presbyterial council. The consistory is to have the right of veto. When this right is exercised, the case may be referred to the provincial synod, and to the General Synod, as the highest authority. A rule prescribing the ability to read and write as an essential qualification of voters after the 1st of January, 1875, was adopted unanimously.

The Synod was visited by representatives of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, who congratulated it on its resuming its meetings under liberal Government.

It is represented that the Unitarian party is stronger in the Churches than it appeared in the Synod.

The second of the Protestant State Churches of France, the Lutheran, received, like the Reformed Church, the permission of holding again a General Synod. It was convoked by the Government to meet in Paris on July 23, and consisted of thirty-three members, twenty-two laymen, and eleven clergymen—fifteen representing the "Inspection" of Paris, and eighteen that of Montbéliard or Mompelgard. The special task to be accomplished by the Lutheran General Synod was the re-organization of the Lutheran State Church of France, which has nearly been destroyed by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. Before the war the Lutheran Church numbered forty-four consistories, with two hundred and seventy-eight parishes. Now, only six consistories are left, with sixty-four parishes, of which eight are in Paris, forty-seven in the district of Montbéliard, one in Lyons, one in Nice, and seven in Algeria. The establishment of three more parishes—two in Paris and one in Algeria—has been promised by the Government. Besides this overwhelming majority of its consistories and parishes, the Lutheran Church has lost its supreme ecclesiastical board, its theological faculty and theological seminary, all of which were located at Strasburg, as well as an evangelical gymnasium, and a number of rich dotations in the same city. Thus this Church has been reduced to about one fifth of its former dimensions. Soon after the conclusion of peace, the Minister of Public Worship wished to convoke a Synod for the re-organization of the Lutheran Church; but the Inspection of Montbéliard showed a decided opposition to this step. The great majority of the pastors of this Inspection belong to the Liberal party, and desire to separate from the Inspection of Paris, which is orthodox, and to unite with the Reformed Church, in which, for a long time, no confession of faith had been regarded of an obligatory character. This party established a religious paper, called "La Situation Ecclesiastique," the outspoken aim of which was to bring on a union between the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, with entire absence of any official creed. On October 18 a general assembly of the Inspection of Mompelgard took place. Of the seventy-eight members

who were present, fifty-nine voted for the union, and only nineteen against it. Both the majority and the minority sent delegates to Paris, to ask the Minister to adjourn the re-organization of the Church. The Minister agreed to leave every thing in its former condition until the clergymen would arrive at a better understanding with each other. Soon after, on November 29, the General Synod of the Reformed Church was convoked, and the Lutherans generally concluded to wait until the close of this Synod before taking new steps with regard to their own Church. The strictly Lutheran minority of Mompelgard closely united with the Inspection of Paris, and thereby gained new strength. The majority, which was in favor of a union with the Reformed, split on the doctrinal question, as those leaning toward Pietism were dissatisfied with the attacks, by the champions of the Liberal party, upon the authority of the Bible and the Apostolical Creed. After the majority of the General Synod of the Reformed Church had declared in favor of an obligatory confession of faith, the Rationalistic Lutherans were shaken in their longing for a union, and the Pietists remained the only advocates of a union. The Inspection of Paris, on the other hand, took a decided stand in favor of preserving the independence of the Lutheran Church. Their organ is the paper "La Temoignage," of Paris. A minority in Paris favors a union with the Reformed Church, but in view of the grave dissensions in the Reformed Church prefers to make no advances in this direction at present. Moreover, the emigration of large numbers of Lutherans from Alsace and Lorraine appeared to make it more necessary than ever to preserve the Lutheran Church. The congregations of Lyons and Nice also strongly urge this view. The Lutheran clergymen of France appear generally anxious not to fall out with their co-religionists in Germany.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

UNDER the title of *Deutsche Zeit- und Streitfragen*, a series of pamphlets has been begun in Germany, each of which will discuss one important question of the age on which the opinions of mankind are greatly divided. The editors of the collection are Professor Von Holtzendorff, of Berlin, and Professor W. Oncken. Important religious controversies fall within the scope of the new enterprise, as well as literary, and others. The very first pamphlet, which begins the series, is one on the Life of Jesus and the Church of the Future, (*Das Leben Jesu und die Kirche der Zukunft*. Berlin, 1872.) The author, Heinrich Lang, a clergyman of the Reformed Church of Switzerland, has long been known in the theological literature of Germany as one of the leaders of the extreme Rationalistic party. He gives in popular language a brief summary of the results of the critical school of Tübingen, and the books of the New Testament are, in his opinion, not an unbiased record of the life of Jesus, but they are all

written in a bitter party spirit, from the stand-point either of the liberal Pauline party or of the Judaizing Christians. He regards it as the mission of theological science to evolve from the parti-colored statements of the New Testament writers the true picture of the Great Founder of the universal Christian religion. Another of the pamphlets of this collection, which have already appeared, is by Professor Schulte, of Prague, the learned writer on Church law, and present champion of the Old Catholics. It treats of the monastic orders and congregations of the Roman Catholic Church, with particular reference to Germany, (*Die neueren kathol. Orden und Congregationen besonders in Deutschland.* Berlin, 1872,) and warns the German Governments and States against the dangers with which they are threatened by the ultramontane tendencies of the Jesuits, and other orders. Among the pamphlets of the collection, which are announced as soon forthcoming, are the following: Prof. Stahl, History of the Labor Question; Prof. Baumgarten, of Rostock, Protestantism as a Political Principle; Prof. J. B. Meyer, of Bonn, The Reformation of the German Universities; Prof. Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, The German Empire and Science. Contributions on theological or ecclesiastical questions may also be expected from Prof. Frohschammer, of Munich; Prof. Hinschius, of Berlin; Prof. Huber, of Munich; Prof. Schenkel, of Heidelberg; Prof. Wasserschleben, Prof. Zeller, and many others.

A pamphlet, by Dr. Gustav Eberty, "On the Relation of the State to Popular Education," (*Ueber das Verhältniss des Staates zur Volkserziehung.* Berlin, 1872,) gives an outline of the history of the relation of the State to public education from the earliest times to the present age. The duty of the State to legislate on and to superintend the education of the youth was, even before Christ, advocated by Plato and Aristotle. The Roman Catholic Church denies the right of the State to meddle with education; but the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century established the public school, the great institution of modern civilization, upon a firm basis. The school question is at present the subject of a more animated discussion than at any previous period, and the author calls on all the educated classes to take an active interest in this question.

"The Philosophy of the Earl of Shaftesbury; with an Introduction, and a Critique of the Relation of Religion to Philosophy, and of Philosophy to Science," (*Die Philosophie des Grafen von Shaftesbury.* Freiburg, 1872,) is the title of a book published by Prof. Spiker. After a biographical introduction and a literary review, the main portion of the work discusses, in four sections, the relations of the famous English freethinker to religion and Christianity, to morality, to philosophy, and to art and literature.

Dr. Kamphausen, Professor in the Faculty of Evangelical Theology at the University of Bonn, has published an exegetical and critical monograph on the Lord's Prayer, (*Das Gebet des Herrn.* Elberfeld, 1872.) The author delivered a lecture on this subject to the Pastoral Conference of Bonn, and, at the request of the Conference, published it as a book. It

is especially intended as a scientific aid for the clergymen and teachers who explain the Lord's Prayer in a course of religious instruction.

The Catholic publishing house of Herder, in Freiburg, announce the forthcoming publication of a "Theological Library," which is to contain a new manual of every branch of theological science. It is based on the same plan as the theological library published in this country by Prof. H. B. Smith and Prof. Ph. Schaff. The following volumes, among others, will form part of the series: "Encyclopedie," by Prof. Hagemann, of Hildesheim; "Apologetics," by Prof. Hettlinger, of Würzburg; an "Introduction into the Old and New Testaments," by Professor Kaulen, of Bonn; a "Church History," by Prof. Hergenröther, of Würzburg; "Dogmatics," by Scheeben; "History of Christian Doctrines," by Wildt; a manual of "Church Law," by Prof. Vering, of Heidelberg; "Pastoral Theology, Catechetics, and Homiletics," by Kleinheidt; "Pedagogics," by Hirschfelder. Some of the authors mentioned in this list are well-known as able scholars; others have thus far only been known for their fanatical zeal in behalf of the Church of Rome. The volumes of the series are, therefore, likely to be of very unequal value.

Another new Catholic publication, of probably considerable value, which is announced as forthcoming, is an Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities, (*Real-Encyclopädie der Christl. Alterthümer*,) likewise to be published by Herder, of Freiburg. It is to be edited by Professor Kraus, of the University of Strasburg, with the assistance of Bishop Hefele, of Rottenburg, A. von Reumont, and others. The name of the chief editor and of his contributors are a guarantee that this encyclopedia will contain a number of valuable articles.

The German translation of select writings of the Church fathers, which is edited by Prof. Thalhofer, of Munich, (*Bibliothek der Kirchenväter*,) and to which we have occasionally called attention in former numbers of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, contains, besides the Latin and Greek fathers, also translations from some writers of the ancient Syriac Church. A large portion of the literature of the ancient Syriac Church has only recently been discovered in Oriental convents, and it is expected that many additions to this literature will yet be found. As but few persons have a sufficient knowledge of the Syriac language to read these works in the original, translations into one of the principal modern languages will be welcome to many theologians of all Christian denominations. The above "Library of the Church Fathers," after giving, some years ago, several volumes of translations of the Church father Ephrem, of Edessa, the best known of all Syriac writers, has recently published a volume of "Select Poems of the Syriac Church Fathers, Cyrillonas, Balæus, and Isaac, of Antioch," (*Ausgewählte Gedichte der Syrischen Kirchenväter Cyrillonas, etc.* Kempten, 1872,) now for the first time translated into German, by Prof. G. Bickell, of Munster. The translator is generally regarded as one of the best—perhaps the best—Syriac scholar now living; and although he shows himself biased in favor of the Roman Catholic

doctrines, his introduction and notes to the three writers mentioned are declared, even by the most competent Protestant reviewers, as very valuable. A second volume will contain poems of Jacob, of Sarug.

An Arabic work on the doctrines of Mohammedanism concerning the future life has been translated into German by a Jewish rabbi, Dr. M. Wolff, (*Mohammedanische Eschatologie*. Leipzig, 1872.) The work gives what even now all the Mohammedans believe with regard to the future life, much of which cannot strictly be called Mohammedan doctrine; for, according to the Mohammedan creed, nothing is necessary for salvation but a full belief in all that is contained in the Koran, and in all that a well-authenticated tradition proves to have been taught by the Prophet Mohammed himself. The translator has added notes, investigating the relation of the Mohammedan creed on this subject with Jewish notions.

Prof. H. Schmid has begun a publication of a History of the Catholic Church of Germany, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the present age, (*Geschichte der Kathol. Kirche Deutschlands*. Munich, 1872.) The work is to be completed in two volumes. A work on this subject was a great want in Germany, but the author appears to have thus far not satisfied the expectations of scholars.



ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Suggestive Inquiries concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, as taught in the New Testament. By D. A. DREYDEN. 16mo, pp. 215. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, for the Author. 1872.

We agree with Dr. Briggs in his brilliant Introduction to this little volume, that an honest discussion of our ordinary beliefs, which "does not impair the force of Christian motives," must, though freely handled, be liberally accepted. Yet we regret to say that there are in this book not a few slants at "the theologies" and "cherished creed," which better become what Dr. M'Cosh calls the "Boston Theology" than an evangelical Methodist preacher, whose heart is in sympathy with the Christian consciousness of the great body of the true Catholic Church of all ages. Doctrinal tradition is not to be our master, but still deserves respectful treatment as one of our guides in attaining the true sense of Scripture, and the vague depreciation of "creeds" and "theologies" is rather new in our Methodism. This general evangelical Church has made the word of God its guide; the "central creeds" are her historic doctrinal records; and when a writer claims that his individual comment on the

word is essentially the word itself, in contradistinction to the nearly unanimous exposition of the great body of acknowledged standards, (which, forsooth, are mere opinions,) he shows an arrogance that nearly forfeits a right to our attention. Especially insufferable is all this when the doctrine, like that of the bodily resurrection, is one to which not only Methodism, but all Christendom, whether Greek, Roman, or Protestant, has given its unanimous assent in the most pronounced terms; an assent not only during the modern and middle ages, but through the martyr age, as attested by the most primitive creeds, by the inscriptions on the tombs of the Catacombs, by the earliest uninspired writings, and so in all presumption by the words of the apostles and of Christ, where such an interpretation of their words is even allowable. Dissent on this point, save by an occasional writer or by heretical sects, is unknown. Nor is the force of this unanimity at all broken by the fact that when orthodox writers have voluntarily gone beyond the proposition of the simple doctrine, and entered into explanatory details and incidentals about the process of the resurrection, their individual views have varied in numerous directions; for that is true of all doctrines—even of the atonement itself. It is of no use, then, for Mr. Dryden to spread out upon his pages the numerous subordinate peculiarities of writers on the resurrection, so long as from the present moment back to the apostolic day the Church has with singular and most articulate unanimity been able to say, "*I believe in the RESURRECTION OF THE BODY,*" meaning by "the body" the body that died. Backed by such a unanimity upon this one great PROPOSITION, we enter the New Testament with a justly powerful, though not absolute, presumption in our favor; and we surely have some right to expect in our opponent great modesty of speech and temper, and great decisiveness of exegesis and logic, to overcome such a presumption. Neither of these qualities seems remarkably conspicuous in this volume. Its theory is, so far as we understand it, that at the death of the body the soul takes so much from the body with it as will form a soul-body and thus constitute a complete personality, and it thence departs to hades, the place of departed spirits. At the advent it will therefore *rise* a complete person—not from the earth, but from *hades*—and ascend to the eternal heaven. Such being the theory, it is all important for the theorist to show then that the *dead* that *rise* are not the *dead bodies* in the earth, but—what? The reply is at once a refutation of this whole theory. They, those "resurrected" *dead*, are the *LIVING persons* in hades! Mr. Dryden's real resurrection, there-

fore, is a resurrection of the already *living*, and consists in their *ascension* from hades or paradise to heaven. His rising *dead* are the *living*! His is therefore no resurrection of the *dead*. The compound person that rises, by his theory, not only is not dead the moment before, but in fact never was dead.

To prove that the *dead* that are in Scripture said to rise are not *dead bodies*, (which really disproves the resurrection of the *dead*!) he takes the texts in which the dead are said to *rise*, and in the place of the word *dead* or its pronoun he substitutes the words *dead bodies*; and as the text then reads incongruously, he infers that the word *dead* does not mean *dead bodies*. Thus:

"Questioning one with another what the rising from the *dead bodies* should mean?" "Brought again from the *dead bodies* our Lord Jesus Christ;" "Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming in which all the *dead bodies* that are in the graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they (*dead bodies*) that have done good unto the resurrection of life; they (*dead bodies*) that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation," John v, 28, 29; "Jesus, who is the first begotten of the *dead bodies*," Rev. i, 5; "But the rest of the *dead bodies* lived not again," Rev. xx, 5; "Blessed are the *dead bodies* that die in the Lord," Rev. xiv, 13.

Now we will give him a few more texts of the same sort. Abraham, speaking of the corpse of Sarah, says to the sons of Heth (Gen. xxiii): "If it be your minds that I should bury *my dead* (*my dead body?*) out of my sight," etc. Now we know here that *my dead* does signify *my dead body*; and yet to substitute the latter phrase would change the meaning. Matt. viii, 22: "Let *the dead* bury their *dead*" would not well read, Let the *dead bodies* bury their *dead bodies*; and yet that is the literal image underlying the figure. Matt. x, 8: "Raise the *dead*" means certainly a raising performed upon *dead bodies* by the recall of their souls; but the text would not read well, Raise the *dead bodies*. Matt. xi, 5: "The *dead* are raised up" certainly signifies that *dead bodies* are raised up from their prostrate state by being reanimated with the returning soul.* It is in every case the body that is raised; it is a bodily resurrection, and the requisite condition of that bodily resurrection is its reanimation by the soul from hades. Similarly we affirm that in every passage quoted by Mr. Dryden the word *dead* does refer to the *dead bodies* in the earth, and does not refer to the soul or soul-person in hades. The uncouthness of the reading arises not

* And as in these passages the bodies (Greek neuter) alone are called *οἱ νεκροὶ*, (Greek masculine plural,) and are raised under condition of the returning souls, so we have a contradiction to Mr. Dryden's repeated statements that this word always (for he must mean *always* if he means any thing to his purpose) "takes in the whole idea of personal being." In every one of these cases the masculine Greek plural for *dead*, or *dead bodies*, is applied to bodies or corpses.

from any inconsistency of meaning. It arises from a violation of the ordinary idiom of speech, yet that idiom having its origin in a real association of thought. When, for instance, Dr. Young speaks of "the pale nations of the dead," he means not living souls in hades, for he would not call them *pale*, but he means collectively the *dead bodies*. Yet "pale nations of the dead bodies" would read ludicrously. Why? Because the phrase "the *dead*" has a more elevated tone than the phrase *dead bodies*. The dead in the graves are not merely so many *dead bodies*, but are taken as a collective community, a dread domain, and even a state. Thus, when Christ rose in body from the dead, the image is not that he rose from among a parcel of individual dead bodies, but that he rose from the solemn society, the collective state, of the inanimate.

Mr. Dryden expends a great deal of Greek erudition on the fact that *the dead*, as deceased bodies, have a Greek neuter *σῶμα*, and yet the personal masculine *νεκροί*, and other adjectives or pronouns and participles, are applied to *the dead*. These masculines, he imagines, cannot accord with neuter dead bodies, and so they must require the soul in order to constitute a *person*. Yet the most ordinary Greek grammar will tell him that a masculine agrees (*ad sensum* as the grammarians say) with a neuter Greek word that designates a personal being. So in Matt. xxvii, 52, 53: "Many bodies [*σῶματα*, *bodies*, neuter] arose, and coming [Greek masculine participle agreeing with the neuter *bodies*] out of the *graves* [same word as in John v and John xi] went into the holy city." It was purely a bodily resurrection by the incoming of the soul; bodies (neuter) are the only subject of participle and verb; and yet the participle agrees in the masculine plural with these *bodies*. We have above shown that in Matt. viii, 22, and x, 8, and xi, 5, dead bodies are called by the masculine *νεκροί*. The dead body of Lazarus is called by his personal name. The whole pretense that bodies alone cannot be mentioned as *persons* is contradicted in all languages by every-day life. A man's corpse is still spoken of as a man, a woman's corpse as being a woman. All the relative words of personality are in myriads of cases applied to the lifeless body. No one would hesitate to speak of the corpse of a daughter as a female person: "She lies in her coffin, but she will come forth;" or of a son: "He is cold in death, but he will rise to immortality." In vain will Mr. Dryden stand by, grammar in hand, and say: "The word *she* is personal and feminine, and cannot mean or agree with that dead corpse; it must designate the soul in hades with its soul-body, so as to

include the whole person. Certainly you do not mean that a mere *dead body* will come forth! And how can a *dead body* rise to immortality? If it is dead it cannot be immortal. A *dead body* cannot live at all." This is no caricature of the great mass of the reasoning of this volume. And if personal terms are thus normally applied to dead corpses, much more may they be applied to the same corporeities passing through the successive stages of *death, animation, coming forth, and completed resurrection*. Thus 1 Thess. iv, 14, 15: "Them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him. We which are alive shall not prevent them which are asleep; and the dead in Christ shall rise first," etc. Mr. D. does not accomplish a great deal when he paraphrases this thus: "Even so the *dead bodies* which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him; *we* which are alive shall not prevent the *dead bodies* which sleep in Jesus; and the *dead bodies* in Christ shall rise first, and the *dead bodies* shall be raised incorruptible." As it happens, the phrase *dead bodies* does not occur in the passage; but simply personal terms which are equally susceptible of being applied to *bodies* or to *persons* through all their stages from corpses to glorified personalities, as the same personal but varying subject.

And this answers the argument from the words, "How are they [the dead] raised up, and with what body do they come?" On this our author remarks: "Is it possible to limit the *dead* to mean bodies?" Suppose, we reply, the text were, "How is Lazarus raised up? with what body does he come?" Every one can see that the personal name "Lazarus" applies to the *dead body*, and yet in the same breath the person Lazarus comes *with his risen body*.

Of nearly every leading position taken in the book a square contradiction could be furnished from the narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus alone. He says (p. 29) that the dead body of Christ is not Christ, and yet the dead body of Lazarus before being revivified is addressed by Christ himself as "Lazarus." John xi, 43. He says that the personal pronoun is not applicable to the dead *soma*, and yet it is, (v. 33.) He tells us that in John v, 29, the word *graves* means tombs, and must be made to mean figuratively *hades*; but the same word, as used xi, 31 and 38, is applied to Lazarus's burial-place, and it is said that "it was a *στήλαιον*," *cave, or little excavation*, (the Greek word is a diminutive term,) covered by "a stone." So that this little stone-covered hole must be figuratively so enlarged as to take in the whole invisible region of departed spirits, both *hades* and *paradise* included!

That the earth, not hades, is the scene of resurrection, and that the bodies are *the dead* which are raised, are decisively proved by Rev. xx, 13: "The sea gave up *the dead* which were in it." Mr. D. protests against the "literal interpretation of *the sea*," and asserts that if the *dead* means *dead bodies*, then, in v. 12, "the dead were judged" means a judgment of *dead bodies*. But, we reply, when it is affirmed that the *dead were judged*, the idiom is just the same as when it is said, Matt. xi, 5, "The deaf hear;" not that they were *deaf* and *heard* at the same time, but that the previously *deaf* now hear. So Matt. xv, 31, the multitudes saw the dumb speak, the lame walk, and the blind see. Not that they were blind and seeing at the same time, but in succession. So the judged were not *dead* and *judged* at the same time, but the previously *dead* are now *judged*.

These considerations will disperse the imaginary difficulties which Mr. D. gathers around John v, 28, 29: "All that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good, to the resurrection of life," etc. This pictures the process of bodies in their graves being reanimated, and coming forth into a complete retributive resurrection state. The *graves*, or *tombs*, signify *graves*, or *tombs*, and nothing else. Nor is there any thing ungrammatical in the dead occupants of those graves being called by the Greek masculine plural word for *dead*, mere *bodies* at the beginning of the process though they were. The neuter word for *bodies* does not in fact occur in the text; and this is one of the million cases in which the dead body of a man is spoken of as a man or person. When asked, How could the dead hear? we reply, just as the deaf hear. Simultaneously with the *voice* come the soul and the sensibility. No sophistry can evade this text. It proves, defying all perversion, that the scene of the resurrection is the earth; that its subjects are the bodies dead and normally buried; that it consists in the reorganization of those self-same material bodies into glorious modifications preparatory for the ascension to the judgment-seat of the Son of man.

Our remarks are lengthened not in proportion to the value of the book, which is (with all personal kindness to the author) very slight, but to the importance of the subject. We cannot indorse Dr. Briggs's recommendation to *read* the book, as that would usually be a waste of time. We are pleased to note that though printed at one of our publishing houses, it bears no official imprint.

God with us; or, The Person and Work of Christ, with an Examination of "The Vicarious Sacrifice" of Dr. Bushnell. By ALVAH HOVEY, D.D., President of Newton Theological Institution. 12mo., pp. 275. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co.

Dr. Hovey has attained an eminence among American theologians for his lucidity as a writer and his acumen as a metaphysician. It is a great pleasure to study his pages where we agree with him; and even where we disagree, as we occasionally and very widely do, we are not a little obliged to him for the clearness, candor, and living spirit with which he states and defends the wrong side.

He expounds and maintains, in the first part, the true doctrine of the divine-human person of Christ with a masterly precision. Our students in theology will find this part a tract for the times against the new heresy that asserts the Infinite to have literally minified itself to the finite in order to become the pseudo-human soul of Christ. Such a doctrine, as we have heretofore said, denies the necessary existence of God in the absolute, undiminishable fullness of his attributes, and so makes him capable of self-annihilation. God's existence is then no longer a necessary truth. God, we hold, can never sleep, in part or in whole; he can become latent to us, but he can never be latent to himself; and this latency *to us* is all the self-inanition there is in the incarnation. Dr. Hovey's illustration of the unity of the divine and human consciousness in the "one Christ" is clear and beautiful. In discussing the atonement itself Dr. Hovey shows that his heart is broader than his creed. His creed is that of explicit Calvinism—particular, *personal* election, based on a particular, *personal* redemption through the atonement. Writing, as he originally did, these chapters in a Baptist periodical, he assumes that his audience is as Calvinistic as himself. For instance, he says: "It is plain that God purposed from the first to save certain persons of our race; that those persons were given to Christ in a special sense to be his flock, and that he had particularly in view their actual salvation when he laid down his life. Thus far, at least, it would seem as if there could be no question as to the sense of Scripture." Certainly not among his Calvinistic readers; but three fourths, at least, of the Christian Church of all ages, east and west, are not Calvinists, and very promptly reject such a view.

Dr. Hovey nevertheless endeavors to convince himself that he believes in an unlimited atonement. By the atonement "it was the eternal desire and purpose of God to remove from every sinner's path the only obstacle to his salvation except his own

impenitence and unbelief." And yet Dr. Hovey firmly believes that God has eternally foreordained, irrespective of any foreknowledge, whatsoever comes to pass. That is, He has absolutely and immutably predetermined and decided before the ages that the whole human race, except the above "certain persons," should continue impenitent, should reject the atonement, and be forever damned. God has also taken omniscient care to hem in their wills with strongest motives for sin and impenitence, which "strongest motives" exclude all "power of contrary choice," and necessitate the choice for sin and damnation. Now, that a theologian who believes all that should still imagine that he also believes that the atonement removes all obstacles to the sinner's salvation except his own impenitence, is one of the curiosities of the human intellect. Surely there are some obstacles back of that impenitence which the atonement does not remove. There is the immutable decree of Jehovah, and there is the adamantine causation of volitional necessity, fastening their pitiable victim to sin and eternal death. Such theology mismanages the cause of God and flings the right upon the sinner's side. God is thus the only sinner, and such a God, did the infinite Monster exist, would deserve all the damnation.

Critical History and Defense of the Old Testament Canon. By MOSES STUART, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 12mo., pp. 422. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1872.

Professor Stuart was an eminent pioneer in the field of sacred literature in our country, but, pioneer as he was, his works have still a standard character, not superseded by the productions of his followers in the same area. Especially was he the bold raider into the territories of German neology, and obliged, mostly by his own single brain-power, to think his route through the intricate region. He would have lost his way, but that his *heart* was too deeply true to Christ. At this distance of time he seems undiminished in the stature of his greatness. We look over the Andover catalogue of books, and recognize many a monument raised by his consecrated learning and talent, but not one fitting memorial by any reverent hand to his memory. We suggest to the Andover brethren whether Christian biography might not be enriched by a life of Moses Stuart.

The present volume is a print from the plates of an English edition edited by the erudite but wayward scholar, Dr. Davidson. Davidson's notes are mostly replaced by substitutes from the American editor. The work itself covers ground unoccupied, in

the same form and extent, by any other English or American work. And yet it is ground with which not only every biblical scholar, but every well-trained minister, ought to be familiar. The formation and authenticity of the Bible are the very foundations of our theology.

The scope of his work is to give the earliest origin and history of the Old Testament Books, and to identify them with the canon quoted and indorsed by our Lord and his apostles. The reader is led to range over the literature and the intellectual state of the Hebrew race through successive ages. The sacred books have the disadvantage of their great antiquity, as being for centuries alone, anterior to the testimony of any other contemporary literature, attested almost solely by themselves. But clearly, and more clearly, it becomes evident to the critical eye that that self-attestation is ample. Sanskrit literature, the monuments of Egypt, nay, Greek literature itself, in its early ages, are self-attesting and yet unquestionable.

There is just enough of polemic to give life and point to the present volume. It is living discussion. Stuart is alert for every opponent, near or distant; but the spirit of fairness, of rather under- than over-statement, pervades his pages. His statement of the nature and origin of the canon, its preservation and identity, its closing up, and attestations in later literature, is clear and candidly conclusive. It is followed by an appendix, in which all the testimonies identifying the canon are given, from Josephus to Augustine, both in the Greek and in the English translation. Had the despotism of stereotype plates allowed, the work would have well borne a body of additional notes from a competent hand, furnishing the results of the latest researches and developments.

The Resurrection of Christ. A Series of Discourses. By ELIPHALET NOTT, D.D., LLD., late President of Union College. With an Introduction and Notes by TAYLER LEWIS. 12mo, pp. 157. New York: Scribner & Armstrong. 1872.

Dr. Nott was a splendid pulpit rhetorician of the Massillon school; yet a subtle aroma of genius ran through his performances not to be caught by an imitator. We well remember the fascination his volume of Baccalaureate Addresses exercised over undergraduates in our young day, rivaling, as they did, the speeches of Councilor Charles Phillips in gorgeousness of verbiage. The present volume is to be read, not as a convincing argument for the closet, but as a specimen of popular argumentative persuasion, in which the emotional is a legitimate aid. We

fully agree with Professor Lewis that the historical argument, rhetorically stated by Dr. Nott, is unanswerable. It is fashionable at the present day to deprecate Paley, but it is impossible to refute him. This is true of both his *Evidences* and his *Natural Theology*. Both at the present day need some supplemental additions; but, in their solid bulk, as the historical argument for Christianity, and as the causalational argument for theism, both are impregnable. But when it is a conclusive statement of the argument on either of these topics that is wanted, we immensely prefer Paley to Nott, just as many a listening and entranced audience immensely preferred Nott to Paley.

The Life that Now is. Sermons by ROBERT COLLYER, Author of "Nature and Life." Pp. 351. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1872.

This is the first of Robert Collyer's pages we have looked over, and found subject for more genuine admiration than we had expected. From chance paragraphs that we had seen extracted in the newspapers we had expected to find him ferociously determined to be sensationaly smart. But there is a mellowness of thought, and a free, spontaneous flow of style vindicating his claim to a character for genius without any determined extravaganzas. There is left in his soul, too, a true reverence for Jesus as an exceptional Being, and for the Bible as a book sole and superior, a reverence which may do immense good to those whom a higher truth cannot effectually reach. There is also a power of unique trains of thought, of unfolding reflection in fresh direction from slight hints, which, though sometimes of questionable validity, are often streams of wisdom. Not often do we see any thing in this line finer than the "Gashmu" of the present volume.

Sermons by the Rev. De Witt C. Talmage, delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

Mr. Talmage's sermons are not prepared for the scrutiny of the closeted critic, and so present many passages which do not bear cool analysis. On the other hand, he is not a mere sensationalist, with no other purpose than to raise an hour's excitement, of which *self* is the hero. He is earnest, catholic, realistic, evangelical, straining every power to attain the legitimate objects of a true ministry, the conquest over sin, the triumph of truth and holiness. In that great enterprise a true Christian criticism, in spite of errors of detail, will stand by him. His powers of thought and language are great, and are applied with the devotion of his

entire manhood to the service of the great Head of the Church. His sermons are after no model, and are model for nobody else. They are worthy to be read for their quickening power, and the truths they teach are powerful to salvation.

The Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. From Verbatim Reports, by J. J. ELLINWOOD. "Plymouth Pulpit," Fifth Series: September, 1870—March, 1871. Sixth Series: March—September, 1871. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. 451, 514. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1872.

Yale Lectures on Preaching. By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Delivered before the Theological Department of Yale College, New Haven, Conn., as the First Series in the Regular Course of the "Lyman Beecher Lectureship on Preaching." From Phonographic Reports. 12mo., pp. 263. New York: J. B. Ford and Co. 1872.

The little book on Preaching is one of Mr. Beecher's happiest performances. It is colloquial, but the colloquy of a master. It is brilliant, with a very uncommon amount of common sense. It is the first volume on homiletics we ever read which it was not a task to read. We wish our young preachers would *begin* to read it, and we are sure they will finish it, and will know a considerable amount more about their own business than they did before.

The Mission of the Spirit; or, The Office and Work of the Comforter in Human Redemption. By Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN, Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, United States. Edited by Rev. JOSEPH BUSH. 16mo., pp. 176. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1872.

An English edition of Mr. Dunn's eloquent and stirring treatise, published under the supervision of William Arthur and Gervase Smith. It is in a very neat and attractive form. The work should be scattered broadcast, on both sides of the Atlantic, as a quickener of believers in the Christian life.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Agreement of Science and Revelation. By JOSEPH WYTHE, M.D. 12mo., pp. 290. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. New York: Nelson & Phillips. London: Trübner & Co. 1872.

As a theologian and physiologist Dr. Wythe possesses advantages for skillfully handling the points of contact between religion and science. The volume is a course of lectures delivered by him as president of a literary institution. It aims to be popular rather than exhaustive, being written in a free and flowing style, and, so far forth as it is technical in its terms, the unscientific reader is aided by a glossary at the end. At a time when men of talent

are, under the guise of science, endeavoring to undermine the public faith, this book is a timely contribution to prove that true science and true faith have no real ground of quarrel.

In the ten chapters that compose the work, among the scientific topics slightly touched or more fully handled are the antiquity of man, which is too slightly discussed; the geological and Mosaic cosmogonies, in which he adopts the demiurgic day theory; and development and Darwinism, in which he arrays Agassiz against Darwin. There is, thus far, little that is *new* to those who have kept tolerably posted on these subjects; and even since the author wrote, the phases of these topics have been advancing. Next, the spiritual nature of the soul is discussed, largely from the physiological stand-point, and is illustrated with a body of interesting facts and principles. The succeeding chapter on the Doctrine of the Mediator is fresh, from his stand-point, but evades the central question—how far a satisfaction of one man's sin by another man's suffering is reconcilable with our intuitive sense of absolute justice. Does not the same intuitive sense that requires penalty at all require that the doer of the sin, solely, should be the sufferer of the penalty? In the chapter on the Faith-faculty in Man, or, as we perhaps would call it, the intuition of the supernatural, he opens up some fresh, consistent, and, as we believe, true views on man's susceptibility to communication from the invisible, from both good and evil natures. From this starting-point we have very suggestive views on inspiration, oracles, divination, magic, possession, necromancy, and modern spiritism. This is a valuable, timely, but too brief, chapter. The closing, and perhaps the best, chapter is on The Resurrection. We have first a short running sketch of the history of the doctrine, in which it appears beyond question that the reanimation of the body that dies is, and ever has been, the doctrine of the universal Church; opposed, especially, by the over-spiritualistic Gnostic heresy, but seldom questioned by any author or party of undisputed orthodoxy in the Church. He reviews some of the theories touching the body to be raised. The rabbis solved the difficulty by supposing that there was an indestructible bone in the body called *Luz*, which was the key-stone of the new body; but modern anatomy has never been able to discover this incombustible vertebra in the human skeleton. On this important point our author adduces a new and decisive physiological fact which will, we think, hereafter take a permanent place in the defense of the Scripture doctrine of the Resurrection. We quote his words:

Much of the matter connected with our bodies during life is doubtless foreign, and not essential to their identity. Nine tenths of the human body consists of water—as has been shown by the weight of a corpse which had been desiccated in an oven—and of the remaining tenth part much is material in a state of decay, having been used by the vital processes, and now effete, or being cast off. So that but a very small proportion of the matter of our bodies can really be said to be our own.

We have seen that of the total amount of material associated with our bodies, physiology shows a very small part only to be essential to their integrity.* That matter only which is in a nascent condition, or which is being applied to vital use, can be said to belong to our bodies. Supposing this small part to be indestructible, many of the objections to a resurrection drawn from the nourishment of other organized bodies will be removed, for both animals and vegetables are built up from the decomposition of other beings.—Pp. 258-260.

When the foreign elements are thus eliminated, and the true body remains alone, it is thereby reduced to one tenth of its apparent magnitude. But a still further reduction ensues, we may add, from the abolition of the alimentary and generative parts of the earthly human system, as both reason and the New Testament suggest. But while the material particles of the body are thus unchanged, and become the substance of the new body, the organism passes through a reorganizing and glorifying "change." The same in material, it is new in arrangements, properties, and capabilities. If we desire to know what these newnesses are, the sacred text gives us significant hints when we are told that there will be a "spiritual body," and that that body will be angel-like.

By the body's becoming a "spiritual body" we understand that it will be so subtilized, so adjusted to the pure spirit, and so subjected in every part and particle to the volition and power of the spirit, that while the spirit becomes, so to speak, more substantiated, the personal unit of the two natures possesses all the capabilities that our thought usually attributes to the pure spirit. By volition it passes with lightning rapidity through nameless distance. It clairvoyantly sees, at volition, through a finite imminency. By volition it transforms itself to any shape, and invests itself with a countless variety of properties and phenomenal presentations. It can become as the dark rolling cloud, the flashing lightning, the solid rock. And yet it will have a normal figure and face, which will at once be the true expression of its essential nature, (far more truly than human physiognomy now manifests the character,) and will reveal to the intuition of the

* Dr. Beale, a most eminent English authority in histology: says: "Some years ago I obtained evidence which convinced me that the substance of the bodies of all things living was composed of matter in two states; and I showed that the truly vital phenomena, *nutrition*, *growth*, and *multiplication*, were manifested by one of the two kinds of matter, while the other was the seat of physical and chemical changes only. From observation I was led to conclude that, of any living thing but a part of the matter of which it was constituted was really *living* at any moment. In the case of adult forms of the higher animals and man, indeed, only a very small portion of the total quantity of their body-matter is alive at any period of existence."—*Life-Theories: their Influence upon Religious Thought.* By Lionel S. Beale, M.D., F.R.S., etc.

fellow-celestials the particular personality and perhaps the entire past history of the individual. When asked, Will the glorified bodies have teeth? we reply, If they please; and eat with them, too, as the angels did who visited Abraham. If asked, Will they have hair? we reply, Yes, if they please; and "shining raiment," too, as the two angels did before the apostles at the ascension. Nothing is more clear, we think, than that varying phenomenal form and properties are more or less at the command both of the pure spirit, and of the unit of spirit and spiritual body.

When the spirit stands before the judgment-seat of Christ re-invested with a fresh material body, whence comes the matter that forms its frame? From some part or parts of the wide creation, it is agreed, the particles come, and by divine power gather in form around the soul. And now, we ask, *Why may they not be the very particles which formed the dying body, just as well as any other particles?* If the former, it is a true resurrection; if the latter, it is not a resurrection but a new creation. Dr. Wythe well suggests that there may be a real affinity between the soul and *its* particles, by which they are attracted. The soul may be a magnet to its own bodily elements. Bishop Butler has finely shown that the resurrection, though supernatural to our own earthly system, may be *natural* within a wider system. The law by which the corporeity returns to its soul may belong to a more comprehensive system of laws, which, like a broader circle, encloses the lesser circle in which we are placed. If we could only have, not a little narrow, Huxleyan earthy science, but the broad science that could take in the laws of the vast universe, which are truly the volitions of God, we should see that the soul re-invests itself with the drapery of its former body by as real laws, and under as genuine a science, as the first organism itself was shaped by the wonderful "plastic power."

The World before the Deluge. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Newly Edited and Revised by H. W. BRESTOW, F.R.S. With 235 Illustrations. 12mo, pp. 518. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1872.

The To-Morrow of Death; or, The Future Life according to Science. By LOUIS FIGUIER. Translated from the French by S. R. CROCKER. 12mo., pp. 395. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1872.

The first of the above two volumes is geology, arrayed in picturesque diction, and adorned with an abundance of pictorial illustrations. It is a reduced, though not abridged, edition of a work of much larger size and more sumptuous style, and is thereby suited for a more extensive circulation. Though deferential to the Old Testament, and often quoting its text as illustration, it in-

dorses the geologic man without any attempt to find him in Genesis, and furnishes a picture of his person and family connections, his cave-home and his quadruped neighbors in social contiguity, sketched with as much confidence as if Brady had been on the spot to photograph the entire group. He gives the ordinary set of geologic arguments to authenticate man's contemporaneity with extinct species. He scouts Darwinism, however, and recognizes a divine Creator.

In the second work Figuier constructs for us a new religion according to modern science. All existing religions are good, and to be spoken of with sacred reverence; for they all include worship, and worship is a purifying, elevating, developing exercise for the soul. Materialism, on the contrary, is degrading, and morally destructive. Yet all existing religions, being formed in ages of ignorance, embrace fundamental errors which science will in the course of the twentieth century dissipate. In an eloquent apostrophe, therefore, he bids all the religions of the earth go to their respective temples and worship according to their own rites, under the cheerful assurance that in due time the ascendancy of science will bring them all to the same true and holy dogma. The following is a brief statement of *his* religion.

The minutest amœba has the primary germinal soul, which at death, dropping its body, transmigrates into an individual of the next higher species of being; and this dying, the soul again ascends a grade higher, until it has passed through all the gradations of animal life up to man, forgetting in each stage its history in its preceding stage. All souls are hereby immortal, brute as well as human. By a sort of intellectual Darwinism souls graduate from the lowest to the highest species. Behold, then, fully explained, the mystery, purpose, and intrinsic nature of the ascending grades of animal races! The whole is a grand process by which souls are brought up to the summit platform of humanity. But what of man's soul?

Science discloses that immensity of space is not vacant, but is perfectly filled with a pure ether, subtler than thought can conceive. The soul of man at death drops its earthly body forever and graduates into this ether, which is itself the blissful paradise of the pure spirit. Yet the spiritualization is not always complete; for the souls of the wicked, weighed down with corruptions, fall back to earth, and are condemned to be re-incarnated in a new body. Behold, says the author, a rich improvement upon "the hell of Christianity." The soul, at this first attempt, loses paradise; but it is permitted to try again and again, until at last it shall succeed.

Here is a doctrine of retribution at once most merciful and just. Let us all be good, and avoid these disastrous failures.

The human soul at its re-incarnation forgets its past history, yet retains traces of its existence. Our innate ideas, or special propensities, our marked shapes of character, are mostly the results of our previous life. Besides, most of us have moments in which we seem to recollect to have been in a similar scene in a previous state of existence.* None of us know how many human lives we have lived, or how many times we have fallen from the blessed Eden. Let us, therefore, take warning and courage, and try by perfect purity of life to soar to and through the pure ether.

These exalted human ethereals will nevertheless die; that is, they will fling off the dim vestiges of earthliness, and emerge to the *central heaven*, which is *in the sun*. The sun is a great globe of subtle fluid, into which the perfectly blessed souls of the finally saved are gathered. In fact, it is the spiritual, life-giving emanations from the aggregate of these blessed solar souls which give to the solar rays their vivifying power in earth, by which souls germinate and graduate. Thus the circle of vital activity is fully formed through earth, ether, and sun back to earth again, and will endure forever. Nevertheless, to our own view, it is difficult, we confess, to see how this circle first commenced. The aggregate of solar souls is a necessary antecedent to the first starting of earthly life; and the start of earthly life is a necessary antecedent to the existence of the solar souls. The circle, therefore, seems a logically "vicious circle." Moreover, it seems impossible that this circle should last forever. Would not the time at last come that the aggregate of solar souls would fill the whole solar system, and so, as politicians say, "demolish the ring?"

It will at once be seen that this is a magnificient religious air-castle. It can be called "according to science" merely because it incorporates some of the facts of science into its structure. It is purely hypothetical and imaginary, without scientific logic or basis; yet we admire the amiable, serious, and reverent spirit of the author. We agree with him that most religions are better than no religion, and that materialism and atheism are the basest dregs and lowest sediment of the moral world.

* Draper, in his *Physiology*, refers to this fact, and endeavors to explain it from the doubleness of the structure of the human brain. It is a fact of our own individual life that we had repeatedly experienced this reflex consciousness before we had ever heard of its occurrence in others. On mentioning it to the late Dr. Wilbur Fisk we were surprised, and, indeed, relieved, to learn that it was no symptom of craze in our case, but an experience of his own and of most others.

The Complete Phonographer. By JAMES E. MUNSON, Official Stenographer to the Surrogate's Court, New York.

Phonography is to a considerable degree an occult science, and the practice of it a measurably mysterious art. It has superseded all other forms of short-hand, and has been quite extensively adopted by courts of law for making records of testimony, charges, and for many other purposes. Hence stability is of the first importance. The phonographer has become a sworn officer in many courts, and he has solemnly bound himself to make a record which can be read by others as well as by himself. There can be no justification for introducing new "notions" not legible to others instructed in the form of the art, which has had now for thirty years or more an accepted general feature and signification. Every new work, and especially those exhibiting innovations, must undergo the most searching criticism; for the great concerns referred to above, which are in its keeping, are watched with the jealous eyes of moneyed interests.

The work before us makes the most extravagant and confusing changes in the established system—such as to render it proper to deny its claim to be called *phonography*. It is more properly a sort of weak and insufficient *short-hand*. The author is a "stenographer," and seems to be conscious of making the most serious mischief wherever his notions may be introduced; though, of course, he assumes to have imperative reasons, which, as far as they appear to us, are invalid. He refers several times in his preface and elsewhere to the necessity of a justification for what he has done, as if he were haunted by the ghosts of the time-honored phonographic and short-hand principles he has massacred. Of course his contradictions are frequent and his inconsistencies various, after the manner of most misdoers. Some of his changes may be indicated without short-hand types. They are, 1. Employing on the alphabet strokes two initial hooks of different size to represent L, where before only one size was used, namely, a large hook on curved strokes, and a small hook on straight strokes. 2. Employing the inverted dot-vowel scale, contrary to thirty years' phonographic practice, and opposed to the order of nature, as shown by Professor Willis by means of a telescopic-tubed organ pipe. 3. Discarding dashes and ticks, the quickest, most easily formed, and, consequently, the most legible of all the short-hand signs except the dots. 4. Claiming to teach only one style of writing; namely, the reporting only—no easy style for those who do not wish to learn reporting. He assigns a false reason for doing so; but before he finishes the page he

furnishes proof of its falsity. 5. Violating analogy and other short-hand principles in representing H by a heavy sign, slow to make, when that sound is one of the slightest and shortest of utterances.

His first aim, he says, has been "to restore simplicity and harmony as far as possible by adhering to general principles and discarding all unnecessary expedients." He speaks of "returning" to something phonographic, as if what he proposes were once in the system. Out of these six destructive so-called restorations not one was ever in the system, not even the topsy-turvy vowel scale. Not one of them is a "returning" to any thing, nor "restoring" any thing in phonography. These expressions are deceptive, purposely introduced to cover innovations not to be tolerated. The title of the book is misleading, (1) Because his work is not "complete," not even for those desiring to learn reporting. In his first paragraph he is apologetic for the absence of the foundation of phonography, namely, a treatise on phonetics, falsely claiming that one is not needed, because its principles are, he says, in a sort of general way sufficiently understood. (2) It has no instruction upon reporting upon the following subjects: namely, astronomy, geology, mineralogy, antiquities, medicine, physiology, criticism, *belles-lettres*, politics, etc. (3) It is deluding because it claims to be inductive, a charge which the author confirms by his directions to the learner on page sixteen.

A system of short-hand adapted to our very irregular language must have some irregularities, or it must sacrifice much in speed and legibility. Several hundred systems of short-hand demonstrate this. It is not true, as he claims it is, that a few hundred exceptions throw doubt over every word in the language; even the exceptions do not occasion doubt.

He claims an advantage for the inverted vowel scale which any one can refute who has counted 10,000 words to ascertain the gains and losses by its use. The truth will be found not to vary materially from the following statement. In that scale 630 of them are slightly easier to vocalize; 900 are more difficult; 142 now exceptionally placed would be regularly in the first position; while 1,363 would be out of position. Leaving out of the reckoning the 142 words which would be legitimated, the advantages are 630, and the disadvantages are 2,263.

The work under review contains some of the worst plagiarisms known in the art, as may be seen in the Student's Journal, where Mr. Graham is exposing its piracies. Some of the most valuable features of the logical analysis in Mr. Graham's book are ap-

propriated. Although the writer makes a parade of crediting others, for trifles even, he does not so much as once credit Mr. Graham. He appropriates the mode of exhibiting the principles; also the way of introducing reading and writing exercises, and many important features of contractions and expedients, as will appear in both word and manner in his "special contractions;" also in "vocalized and unvocalized" styles; also in the arrangement of certain lists formerly grouped under S, now copied after Graham; also in the nomenclature, which, by its halting plagiarism, is very imperfect.

L.

More Criticisms on Darwin and Administrative Nihilism. By T. H. HUXLEY, LL.D., F.R.S. 12mo, pp. 85. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1872.

One of Mr. Huxley's most pitiable performances. It is not indeed like his *Protoplasm*, a Waterloo disaster, but in its petty details of malignity, sophistry, and blasphemy it compels the dismission of all moral respect for the man in any right-minded reader. The opening statement in the pamphlet is a reversal of the truth. He asserts that "a happy change has come over Mr. Darwin's critics;" he was on the first publication of his work assailed with "a mixture of ignorance and insolence;" now it seems he is treated more learnedly and more deferentially. The truth is, and we speak from clear recollection, Mr. Darwin's book was immediately answered in nearly every great Quarterly of England, not with "insolence," but with respect; not with "ignorance," but with a learning and logic that remain to this day unrefuted. The change if any has been adverse. His theory is still theory, and not science. Its popularity we believe to be waning; the answers are becoming increasingly conclusive, and Mr. Darwin himself has made very important retractions. And as Mr. Darwin has gradually shown the moral effect of his own theory on his own mind, so the moral condemnation of moderate men like Lord Ormathwaite has become more articulate. Both Darwin and Huxley, as time advances, are palpably becoming more and more demoralized.

The Appletons have inserted in the advertisement pages of the present pamphlet the following passage, quoted from the "Independent:"

There are those who hold the name of Professor Huxley as synonymous with irreverence and atheism. Plato's was so held, and Galileo's, and Descartes's, and Newton's, and Faraday's. There can be no greater mistake. No man has greater reverence for the Bible than Huxley. No one more acquaintance with the text of Scripture.

Now we never heard that the five illustrious men here named were charged with atheism. But with what justice irreverence toward the Bible may be imputed to Mr. Huxley let the following passages show:

Huxley's Reverence for the Decalogue.—When, Sunday after Sunday, men who profess to be our instructors in righteousness read out the statement, "In six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is," in innumerable churches, they are either propagating what they may easily know, and therefore, are bound to know, to be falsities; or, if they use the words in some non-natural sense, they fall below the moral standard of the much-abused Jesuit.

—P. 24.

His Reverence for the Text of Genesis.—Catholic theology, like all theologies which are based upon the assumption of the truth of the account of the origin of things given in the book of Genesis, being utterly irreconcilable with the doctrine of evolution, the student of science, who is satisfied that the evidence upon which the doctrine of evolution rests is incomparably stronger and better than that upon which the supposed authority of the book of Genesis rests, will not trouble himself further with these theologies.—P. 25.

His Reverence for the Bible History of Creation.—. . . an insult to ask an evolutionist whether he credits the preposterous fable respecting the fabrication of woman to which Suarez pins his faith.

Ribaldry—If he [the evolutionist] have the courage to stand alone face to face with the abyss of the eternal and unknowable, let him be content . . . in the sure faith that the hell of honest men will, to him, be more endurable than a paradise full of angelic shams.—P. 27.

There are other passages which read to us like the grossest materialism sustained by the most idiotic sophistry, and others that sound like a contemptuous atheism. But it would require more space than we can spare to expose and expound them. On his own ground of science he may be a respected authority; but when he approaches subjects higher than science, Thomas Huxley is a name quite below Thomas Paine.

The pitiable figure which scientists like Huxley have of late so plentifully exhibited when they overleap the boundaries within which they are really great, and strut out as dictators in metaphysics and theology, is becoming disgusting to the wiser heads of their own body. Dr. Carpenter, though, perhaps, not quite faultless on this point himself, in his late address, as President, before the British Association, uttered these wise words:

But when science, passing beyond its own limits, assumes to take the place of theology and sets up its own conception of the order of nature as a sufficient account of its cause, it is invading a province of thought to which it has no claim, and not unreasonably provokes the hostility of those who ought to be its best friends. For, while the deep-seated instincts of humanity and the profoundest researches of philosophy alike point to mind as the one and only source of power, it is the prerogative of science to demonstrate the unity of the power which is operating through the limitless extent and variety of the universe, and to trace its continuity through the vast series of ages that have been occupied in its evolution.

Lectures on the Science of Religion. With a Paper on Buddhist Nihilism, and a Translation of the Dhammapada, or "Path of Virtue." By MAX MULLER, M. A. 12mo, pp. 300. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1872.

The Lectures on the Science of Religion are four in number, in which the author prosecutes his plan of finding, by comparative theology, the absolute faculty of religion in man. Christianity is the only religion, unless Buddhism be an exception, which may dare to challenge a comparison with all other systems. The result will show in Christianity the absolute religion; yet the Christianity of Muller will be a Christianity divested of what the great body of the Church has considered inseparable if not essential parts. He rejects the idea of an historical primitive revelation, and believes that the true primitive religion must be found in man's nature after all traditional errors have been eliminated. The religious sentiment among all peoples has invested itself with myths of which it must be divested in order to be rightly interpreted. We suppose he would allow that the purest theism is enveloped in the myths of Genesis. He would doubtless recognize something superhuman and divine in Christ.

The greatest religious problem of the world is Buddhism. It is said that, while it upholds a morality nearly as pure as Christianity, it is yet a stupendous system of Atheism, and the heaven it promises to its devotees is—Annihilation. Over these last two facts the Atheist Büchner triumphs, as utter disproofs of the notion that God and immortality are intuitions of the human soul. When, however, it is said that Buddhism is atheistic, it is not meant that it teaches no supernatural; on the contrary, it teaches a vast range of supernaturalism for man; but over that stupendous range it knows no supreme, intelligent Controller. But our own theism does not claim that human intuitions, in all stages of mental development, affirm so perfect an idea of God. We should only maintain, that such is the nature of the human mind in our human sphere that the supernatural is almost, if not quite, universally suggested to the human mind; and when the human mind is developed, through the course of a valid reasoning, it attains to the complete idea of God. It is in the first of these two stages that the Buddhist peoples have rested. So the intuition of *Number* is innate in the human soul; for all there may be tribes that cannot count four, and other peoples that have been arrested at certain stages of numerical development, yet every healthy human mind can be carried through a genuine process of true development, by which it becomes master of all the complexities and wonders of Arithmetic. Whether the Nirvana promised the Buddhist was

absolute annihilation or a state of ineffable quietude, is an open question. In the essay in this volume on that subject, Max Müller declares for the latter. Yet nothing herein avails to disprove the sentiment of man for immortality. The doctrine of Buddhism evidently is, not that annihilation is preferable to happy existence, or to existence in itself, but to such existence as it recognizes in the actual lot of all human beings. In short, the Buddhist theory seems to be this: Existence, such as it actually is through all the universe, is a bad job; the best thing, therefore, is to take the straitest path out of it; and that is through justice, purity, and perfect passionlessness. But the intuition of immortality does not affirm that perpetuated existence in misery is preferable to annihilation. Some of our thinkers have indeed lately maintained that proposition; but we think that there might be degrees of misery, without hope of release, inflicted on any man, such as to overcome his love of existence, and make him ready to plunge into nothingness. That disproves not the natural love of existence or the natural instinct for immortality; it only proves that there may be other feelings so strong as to counterbalance it. We do not see, therefore, that on either of these two points Büchner and atheism have any cause to rejoice.

A good authority for such a view, the *Nation*, says, that the difference between Christianity and Buddhism is, that the former is the religion of hope, the latter of despair. One would suppose that the contrast might insure the triumph of the former. Christianity teaches that our life is past under the control of a supreme goodness; that the present life may be happy life; that the future may be an eternity of active bliss.

Creator and Creation; or, The Knowledge in the Reason of God and his Work. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 360. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1872.

Herbert Spencer has furnished us a theory of the Universe in the interests of Atheism; Dr. Hickok now offers a Theory which is in the interests of Theism. The former, beginning with matter and its properties, attains nothing in the direction of a Creator, but an Unknown Absolute with neither intelligence nor ethic; the latter begins with the Absolute Reason as truly known to human Reason, and thence overspreads and animates science with a divine philosophy. Our Intuitions, styled by him *the Reason*, are fully authorized to read a true and exalted faith into the facts of Experience. The neglect or abjuration of the laws of the Rea-

son he holds to be the source of the infidelity of Science, and if truly and consistently carried out destroys science itself.

The work is divided into Two Parts, the former demonstrating through our highest and surest faculties the existence, personality, and trinality of the Absolute Reason, and the latter unfolding the Creation as being, in the light of our human Reason, the veritable work of the Absolute Reason.

The key to Dr. Hickok's cosmical philosophy is the assumption that *Matter is solidified Force*. Thereby he professes to relieve the Act of creation from that inconceivability on which Atheism bases itself. He evades all contradiction of the maxim "*From nothing, nothing.*" When a man throws a stone he *puts forth force*; and so God *puts forth force*. And as the force put forth is not God himself, so this doctrine does not identify matter with God and is not Pantheism.

Assuming the primal Reason as furnishing the Force and the Idea of the structural Universe, Dr. Hickok requires but three sorts of forces to frame its entire mechanical system. These are the Antagonistic, the Diremptive, and the Revolving. Antagonistic forces coming into collision deadlock each other and form solid substance. Substance is thus fixed and space-filling force. Upon this lump of "*frozen force*," called matter, an additional rush of force in any one direction produces motion. Diremptive (or repellent?) force produces the ether, and evolves all the phenomena of heat, light, etc. Resolving Forces produce all the planetary and other astronomical phenomena.

Yet thus far the universe is a dead mechanism. Descending from the astronomic system to the surface of our own planet, the author encounters and unfolds the mysteries of the phenomena of Life. He traces the ascending grades of modification in the terraces of the life system. Assimilation, organization, sexualization in ascending series, are at the basis. Unconscious life, guided by an *unthinking* instinct, deduces the vegetable system from the mineral, in subserviency to a next superior realm, the animal. Sense reigns in the animal system, enabling the brute to reason, judge, and act within its low domain. But in man the pure intuitive Reason, the power that beholds by direct gaze the infinite, the ethical, the axiomatic, the universal, is superimposed as the crowning endowment. Here is in man the image of God, the stamp of immortality.

How does the author *prove* his system? He simply propounds and expounds it, and leaves it to the rational judgment of the

reader. The validity of the theory depends upon its own consistency in itself as a whole, and upon the completeness with which it interprets the facts of science to the reason. It is, then, a marriage between science and a Christian philosophy. It proposes to meet Spencer, Tyndal, Huxley, and Mauderly (without once naming them) with a systematic solution of the puzzles with which their science would invalidate the fundamentals of faith. It does this by interpolating the dictates of the intuitive philosophy into the facts of experience. The whole is written in Dr. Hickok's philosophical verbiage, with a rich roll of sonorous periods requiring elaborate study, which, we doubt not, it will amply reward, provided the student can perforate the thick shell of the author's nomenclature.

Astronomy and Geology Compared. By LORD ORMATHWAITE. 16mo., pp. 179. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1872.

The author, a retired parliamentary statesman, suffering under blindness, dictated these pages to an amanuensis. They are the sound, sometimes profound, reflections of a most thoughtful man on the proposed theories of the origin of our race. He contrasts the demonstrative character of astronomical reasoning with the uncertainties of geology. He opposes the Darwinian theory both as unscientific and atheistic. He quotes Darwin's rejection of a higher power "analogous to though superior to that of human reason," as apparently implying atheism. Darwin's expression reminds us of a definition of God attributed by a Southern paper to Carl Schurz: "That imaginary gentleman above the clouds." Lord Ormathwaite's work is well worth perusal for its depth and suggestiveness. We give the following grave difficulty for Darwinism:

The propagation of the species is the consequence of sexual connection, which requires an elaborate adaptation of the male and female organs to each other. Now how, in the first instance, could this division into the two sexes have been effected by Natural Selection? Did it occur in the parent stock, and was it handed down through the successive varieties, or was Natural Selection to effect it again in each particular case? Supposing that the first was a single being, how was the division into the two sexes effected? Could Natural Selection do this? for in order that the male and female should be fitted for their respective parts, a very elaborate adaptation of their bodily organs would become necessary; but they must be furnished with these at once in order to fulfill the purposes for which they were made, and nature could not afford to stand still for several generations while Natural Selection was perfecting them, even if it could possibly perfect them at all.

The instinct which by the process of sexual connection sets in motion the whole machinery by which life in its different forms is renewed and perpetuated, is among the strongest in the economy of nature. How it could spring from Natural Selection alone is beyond my comprehension; but it is also to be noted that it is not only implanted in the vast majority of living beings, comprising all

those raised above the very lowest types, but that it is regulated by certain laws. This instinct operates through a desire attracting the two sexes to each other. How is it that this appetite is always confined within its proper limits, and is never found in animals (in a savage state, at least) to lead them to deviate from them? If the sexual instinct were to be widely diffused, a sort of chaos in animal life would be created. . . . In a state of nature this law is absolute; in a state of domestication some irregularity appears, chiefly caused by the subagency of man interrupting to a certain extent the course of nature. But here another law steps in protecting the different races of living beings from that confusion which would result if such power had been left unrestricted. Some of the domestic animals, of different though very similar organizations, are found, under the direction of man, to be capable of sexual intercourse and of bringing forth an offspring; but here steps in another law of nature, a sort of second safeguard or barrier erected against the indefinite multitude of species: the issue of these connections is always barren. Does not this argue foresight in the great Law-giver? How could Natural Selection alone create such prospective limitation?—Pp. 83-85.

The Great Industries of the United States. Being an Historical Summary of the Origin, Growth, and Perfection of the Chief Industrial Arts of this Country. By HORACE GREELEY, LEON CASE, EDWARD HOWLAND, JOHN B. GOUGH, PHILIP RIPLEY, F. B. PERKINS, J. B. LYMAN, ALBERT BRISBANE, Rev. E. E. HALL, and other Writers upon Political and Social Economy, Mechanics, Manufactures, etc., etc. With over 450 Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 1,304. Hartford: J. B. Burr & Hyde. Chicago and Cincinnati: J. B. Burr, Hyde, & Co. 1872.

This volume presents a magnificent picture of the manifold civilization which our country has attained. The copious title is all the book notice our space allows, save the assurance to the reader that the volume fills out the programme.

The Science of Elocution: With Exercises and Selections systematically arranged for easily acquiring the Art of Speaking. By S. S. HAMIL, A.M., Professor of English Literature and Elocution, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill. 12mo., pp. 388. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1872.

Professor Hamill may be remembered among the few who stand at the head of his profession as an elocutionist and teacher of that beautiful art. His work is a very clear analytical treatment of the elements of the science, with an abundance of drill exercises, ingeniously constructed, for training the voice, and attaining first a distinct articulation, and then the higher graces and forces of expression. Then follows a series of extracts from the best authors and orators, as exercises in declamation. The volume is a masterpiece in the art, and its external finish is attractive.

Few men are so perfectly completed by nature for orators as not to need some of the aids of art. Most public speakers find it important to attain the advantages that skillful criticism can afford. And, even in private life, such are the habits of rapid and indistinct utterance in our Northern States, that there are scarce any who do not need some training in a clear, full, articulate style of colloquial utterance. On the other hand, a well

attained clearness of utterance is a desirable attainment; and even as a graceful art, with no purpose of practical oratory, a skill in elocution is an accomplishment. The present volume may be recommended as without a superior, to our scholars, to our ministry, and to our academic, collegiate, and theological classes.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln from his Birth to his Inauguration as President. By WARD H. LAMON. With Illustrations. 8vo., pp. 547. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1872.

This volume is the solid result of an immense amount of research into the facts of Mr. Lincoln's life, comprised in many volumes of manuscript matter derived from the recollections of his friends, relatives, school-mates, professional associates, and especially from the accumulated memoranda of his law-partner, Mr. Herndon, of Springfield. For contemporaneity and ultimate thoroughness of research perhaps no history was ever more perfectly authentic. Mr. Lamon disclaims all other merit in the execution of the work than *conscientiousness*; and though we cannot accord with some of his pronounced judgments, we do recognize a profound, not to say *relentless*, adherence to truth in his work.

No disguises or colorings are flung over the facts that Mr. Lincoln's parentage was not only humble, but utterly *mean*; that his childhood grew in dirt and rags on the earth floor of a miserable cabin; that as he grew amid demoralization and ignorance, he was the athletic match of the best bully of those parts; and that he was profane, obscene, and an irreligious scoffer. Early grown to six feet high and a surplus, his articles of apparel were four—*videlicet*, an old straw hat without a band, a calico shirt, a pair of tow trousers reaching slightly below the knee, and a pair of tan-colored brogans. But it is a long lane that has no angle. The boy, however slight his schooling, was early a voracious borrower and reader of books, and he soon began to write lampoons, and other exercises of native wit. Discovering one day that English grammar was a necessary aid to acceptable writing or speaking, he forthwith strode a half dozen miles to obtain that mysterious book. His muscular superiority he used, not only in repressing bullies, but in securing the triumph of magnanimity, reconciliation, and peace. Good-nature, jocularity, generosity, and story-telling, made him a popular favorite.

Next after the grammar he aspired to a law book, to pettifogging

in a justice's court, to the Legislature. His natural logic and eloquence unfolded themselves. His depth of feeling, his strong moral nature, his profound sympathy with the popular heart, made him eloquent. He began to attain moments of popular power over an audience that even a Patrick Henry would not have undervalued. A seat in Congress first brought him into the broad arena of national politics. Then came the great moral movement of the age—*the slavery question!* While his attachment to the Constitution and history of his country rendered him cautious and conservative, his deep moral nature enabled him to lead the progress of public opinion in his section. It was only in efforts where he took the high place of "ETERNAL RIGHT," as Mr. Herndon assures us, that he towered to his greatest height of oratory. Wonderful, nevertheless, was the skill with which he played between the absolute truth and the capacity of his hearers to receive the truth. By that rare skill, united with the fact that he had the great moral progressive side, his victory over the able and unprincipled Stephen A. Douglas, in one of the most remarkable series of contests on record, was complete. And when the decisive moment came for his nomination to the Presidency, such was his powerful hold on the masses, who saw their own apotheosis in his elevation, such the masterly ability with which he had managed the Republican cause in his section, that the great and then untarnished name of William H. Seward ceased to be an invincible spell.

The episode on Mr. Lincoln's history as a lawyer forms one of the most interesting chapters in the work. In striking illustration of his deep moral nature was his total incapacity for defending the immoral side, or a dishonest client. He dared not plead such cases from the fact that he could not conceal his feeling of the wrong, and so escape convicting his own client. When convinced that he had a wicked case, he would surrender it to his brother counsel and refuse the fee. One of the best things in the book is the story of his actually deserting a bad client and running out of the courthouse. When sent for to the hotel by the judge, he replied, "Tell the judge I cannot come; *my hands are dirty, and I must wash them.*" The result of such a method would naturally be that a jury would, of course, presume that a case was all right if managed by "honest old Abe."

Mr. Lamon has expended a chapter in showing and over-showing that Mr. Lincoln was no orthodox Christian. He brings evidence to his being an atheist, and distinctly maintains that he seldom referred to a Deity in his speeches, and then with no real

meaning. Mr. Lamon's honesty in making so gross a mis-statement is clearly evinced by his furnishing in his own pages the ample refutation. Our authority in contradiction to Mr. Lamon is Mr. Lincoln himself.*

Taking, then, Mr. Lincoln's own public language as conclusive, we have found, *first*, no evidence that he recognized a Redeemer, and but a single instance in which he speaks with respect of "Christianity;" and, *second*, plenty of evidence that he was a reverent theist, and in moments of high moral excitement he rose to what might be called a *pious theism*. It was the deep expression of this last feeling which attracted the sympathies of the Christian public, and produced the unconscious trust that he was essentially a Christian. It was a generous and liberal mistake, and deserves a better appreciation than men of the Herndon and Lamon stamp have the heart to concede. Of course, the reverse tone of feeling on the part of the Christian community would have been berated as "bigotry," "pious malevolence," etc. Religion can never suit the hearts of men whose hearts she cannot set right.

If Mr. Lincoln's most solemn utterances are to be trusted he was no atheist, no pantheist, no fatalist, no believer in his own being over-ruled by blind natural causes. He believed in a living personal God, the just judge of human guilt, the gracious guardian heretofore of our past history, the merciful hearer of prayer, who will yield his benign protection to those who reverently implore it. His asking the prayers of the Springfield assembly is unparalleled in the entire record of Presidential addresses. Its deep, earnest pathos touched thousands of Christian hearts throughout the North. Nor could Mr. Lincoln or Mr. Lamon be unaware to what class of men such an appeal is, with

* After Mr. Lincoln's election he made a parting speech at Springfield, and several more on his way to Washington. His successive professions of faith, here as elsewhere, are conclusive against all other evidence yet furnished.

At Springfield: "I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved on Washington. Unless the great God, who assisted him, shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and Almighty arm, that directed and protected him, shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that, with equal sincerity and faith, you invoke his wisdom and guidance."

At Columbus: "I judge that all we want is time and patience, and a reliance on that God who has never forsaken his people."

Before the Legislature of New York: "I still have confidence that the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, through the instrumentality of this great and intelligent people, can and will bring us through this difficulty, as he has heretofore brought us through all preceding difficulties of the country."

any reality, to be made. Who are the people to whom prayer—not the mere sentimental impulse of an excited moment, but genuine prayer, the conscious intercourse with the Divine—is not a strange work? Whose are the hearts which are earnestly nigh to God—from which fervent prayer spontaneously upward flows? Are they the Pantheists, Deists, Parkerites, Unitarians, or worldlings? No, no, no! Mr. Lamon well knows that it is not to such quarters that the heart in distress goes for the protection of prayer or for aid in learning how to pray. Mr. Lincoln's appeal, then, to possess any reality, was to the poor patronized or insulted Evangelicals: the solemn Puritans or the fervent Methodists. It is with the very class alone whose creed he derides that effectual prayer lives. And this, we aver, is a unique demonstration, as well as an unconscious confession, that with these is not only the true Christianity, but *the true ABSOLUTE RELIGION*. Religion is communion and access with God, and these are identical with effectual living prayer; and the world well knows that the very center of this power of prayer is with the fervent believer in the atonement through the sacrificial blood of a divine Redeemer. Let our rationalistic and worldly friends, who scorn these "dogmas," never forget that, nevertheless, here is the central sanctuary, to which even their own hearts must turn when craving for effectual prayer. If ever Mr. Lincoln attained to a true Christianity it was by this route. It was solemn responsibilities that made him devout, and his moral and spiritual nature rose as they increased. Great trials may have brought him nigh to God. Not to us belongs the province of pronouncing upon him a final judgment.

Notwithstanding many unfortunate turns of expression, Mr. Lamon is not to be held as turning Mr. Lincoln's unbelief into a slur upon Christianity. On the contrary, very full and explicitly, (page 504,) he describes it as the sin and misfortune of Mr. Lincoln's life, the result of his demoralized associations in earlier years, and the negative source of a large share of his mental misery. But Mr. Lincoln's own words in regard to God and a gracious divine government, on numerous occasions, are too solemn and explicit to allow the belief that they were insincere.

Mr. Lamon somewhat patronizingly indicates what is his own as well as Mr. Lincoln's opinion of the clergy. What their opinion was or is is of much less importance to the clergy than to themselves. A man's opinion of the clergy is much more a test indirectly of his own character than of theirs. The Protestant ministry of these United States may, for learning, ability, true

dignity of character, purity, earnest fidelity, and hard-working benevolence, challenge comparison with any body of men equally numerous that ever existed. As a learned and talented profession, they may safely challenge comparison with any other profession. In these respects the American pulpit need not bow to the American bar or the American Congress. If we are to count star names, our pulpit galaxy need not pale. If learning is the test, its scholarship, exhibited in our colleges, theological seminaries, *Quarterlies*, and standard publications, shrinks from no comparison. No body of men exists in whose favor a larger balance of indebtedness for unpaid services is due from the world. Mr. Lamon graciously assures us that Mr. Lincoln had a good opinion of the clergy, "clerical politicians" alone excepted. Now we, as a churchman and a minister, may reasonably object to a "clerical politician," because we believe the ministry to be a sacred institution. But how had Mr. Lincoln any such right, to whom the ministry was no specialty? Lincoln accepted all other good politicians without looking back of the man to his occupation. To a lawyer politician, a merchant politician, a rum-seller politician, a cobbler or tinker politician, he made no objection. With what propriety of logic, then, could he except to a good, able, unimpeachable "clerical politician," because he belonged to the purest profession of men extant? We know clergymen of clear, logical, practical minds, intimately versed in our political history, who if they could be induced to become politicians or statesmen would be not "the worst politicians in the world," but the best. *We have a right* to object to their going into politics; Mr. Lincoln had none. And here we may note that Mr. Lamon's dragging in that impertinent digression in regard to Rev. Dr. Gulliver (pronounced by the *Bibliotheca* to be untrue) bears intuitive traces of personal malignity, and is an outrage, reflecting only upon its author.

Yet we thank Mr. Lamon for even the unflinching details of Mr. Lincoln's life. There is nothing in their realistic coarseness to prevent Lincoln from becoming to the eyes of the suffering millions of all the world what he, even already, is—an ideality, a symbol, a parable that auspicates their own ennoblement. Upon the image of his sad, wan face, millions of eyes still gaze with the irrestrainable tear. This first volume closes, like a romance, at the summit of life; the next will close, like a tragedy, with a catastrophe. We shall look to the second with interest, assured that many mysteries of Mr. Lincoln's presidential career will be unrolled with unshrinking hand. Mr. Lamon is "a chiel amang

them takin' notes," and woe to the "coats," and petticoats too, that have "holes" in them.

Autobiography of Amos Kendall. Edited by his Son-in-law, WILLIAM STICKNEY. 8vo., pp. 700. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Lee, Shepard, & Dillingham. 1872.

This portly volume, though read with interest, does not succeed in placing us among the admirers of Amos Kendall. That gentleman was son of a New Hampshire deacon, graduated at Dartmouth in 1807, went to Kentucky and became private tutor in the family of Henry Clay, subsequently joined the Jackson party, and finally attained so high a post as Postmaster-General under Jackson.

The history of our country scarcely presents a purer statesman through his entire life than John Quincy Adams; yet it was a sad and demoralizing spectacle set before the nation when first that brilliant patriot, Henry Clay, really made him President, and he forthwith turned round and made Henry Clay Secretary of State. We have no belief that any verbal bargain was previously made, or that any mutual understanding was in any way exchanged between them. But there stood in open day the great national facts. These two men had reciprocally placed each other in the two highest offices of the Government. What aggravated the matter was that the Secretary of State had, heretofore, been a sort of Prince of Wales, an heir apparent to the Presidency; so that these two noble men did most unequivocally make each other President and prospective President. That single patent fact rendered them deserving the upset they received.

What rendered the crime greatest of all was that it enabled a flock of greedy political cormorants, calling itself the Democratic Party, to raise the sham banner of "Reform," and, under the lead of a tall semi-civilized south-western bravo, General Jackson, to seize the Government and overwhelm it with a corruption from which it has never recovered. The "Hurrah for Jackson," started by the Mississippi boatmen and rolled through the country, was the first "hurrah" ever known in our polities. The degradation of our polities then commenced with an immediate completeness. Both parties learned these methods of success, and hurrah and rowdyism have ever since been prevalent and controlling elements on both sides.

Of the inroad of this Vandal occupancy Mr. Kendall was a somewhat efficient instrument. That he acted conscientiously is no part of our business to dispute; but we think history, so far as she notices him, will view him as acting badly. In his office of Postmaster General he was the pliant agent of power. Our antislavery history has a severe charge to lay to his account. Co-ordinate

with many unconstitutional stretches of power, which the party of "strict construction" (?) were ever ready to perpetrate to any extent on behalf of the slave-power, Mr. Kendall, against all law and decency, expelled abolition matter from the public mails. It is unfortunate for Mr. Kendall's memory that this flagrant act is about the only transaction of his life sufficiently salient to attract the eye of history. The future, alas! may know him only as the official violator of the public mails at the beck of the vilest system of despotism that ever saw the sun. Kindly biography, however, here affirms that in private life he was in every way excellent. He was immersed into the Baptist Church at the age of seventy-six, and died in that religious faith in 1869. The volume abounds in narrations and portraiture illustrative of our national history and progress for the last fifty years, and will be read with interest by all parties.

The Desert of the Exodus. Journeys on Foot in the Wilderness of the Forty Years' Wanderings; undertaken in connection with the Ordinance Survey of Sinai and the Palestine Exploration Fund. By E. H. PALMER, M.A., Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. With Maps and numerous Illustrations from Photographs and Drawings, taken on the spot by the Sinai Survey Expedition, and C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake. 12mo., pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

Thoroughly prepared by a knowledge of the Arabic language and a mastery of the extant biblical literature connected with the subject, Mr. Palmer, traveling on foot, has made a leisurely survey of the localities of the Wilderness Sojourn of Israel, which much advances, if it does not complete, the work done by explorers like Stanley and Robinson. The results are in a high degree satisfactory, both in illustration and confirmation of the Mosaic history. The cuts and maps give a clear light to the narrative; the maps, finely executed and colored, are very acceptable to the biblical scholar. The work has already been wrought into notes in the Speaker's Commentary.

Mr. Palmer is a very entertaining narrator. His volume is full of cheery humor, graphic description, with portraiture and anecdotes illustrative of the present population and general condition of the regions he describes.

Literature and Fiction.

Lucretius on the Nature of Things. Translated into English Verse by CHARLES FREDERICK JOHNSON. With Introduction and Notes. 12mo., pp. 333. New York: De Witt C. Lent & Co. 1872.

A *Lucretius* in readable English is an admirable "Tract for the Times." It reveals to many conceited prattlers about "modern

thought," "advanced thinking," "latest conceptions," "emancipation from old traditions," etc., etc., that they are not half so original as they had in blissful ignorance imagined themselves, and that they are the traditional heirs of atheistic speculations older than the Christianity that once drove them out of existence. We apprehend that a comparison will show that, with the exception of the illustrations drawn from the science of the present day, there is little in Tyndall's showing of the possibility of a spontaneous evolving of a cosmos into being which cannot be found in Lucretius's atheistic processes; and nothing in Buchner's argument for the perishability of the soul, excepting its fierce blatancy, which Lucretius has not anticipated by two thousand years. This is, indeed, no answer to their arguments, but a check upon their conceit, and a fair silencer of the stereotype vocabulary in which their conceit expresses itself.

It is, indeed, a conflict of ages—this battle between (as Cudworth calls them) "the physiologists" and the theologers—between matter, annihilation, and eternal laws on the one hand, and soul, immortality, and God on the other. Arguments of wonderful force can be brought upon each side; the wavering contest has been waged through millenniums, and it may be said that each man's conclusions will largely depend upon the *temper*, the heart assumptions, the will, with which he begins and prosecutes his processes. Voluntary denial can maintain its logical ground and stay in atheism; voluntary faith can find ample grounds for her unfaltering trust in immortality in God. All the nobler intuitions of the soul are for faith. It is the divine in man that testifies Divinity. In full alliance it is with these that Christianity comes in, and upon the basis of our previous reason superadds the "full assurance of faith." The true final demonstration of God comes alone of that communion with God, bestowed on self-consecrating faith, which sweetly allays all doubt, and reveals, with a certainty not belonging to mere mysticism, the reality of a divine Presence. This gracious reward is attained by man as the result of the right exercise of his highest powers and divinest nature, and is the earnest of the final union of the human with the Divine.

How minutely faithful Mr. Johnson's translation is, not having made close comparison, we cannot say; but no doubt the English reader will get a competent view of the Lucretian argument. Of the poetic merits of the version we cannot speak with enthusiasm. The rhythm is often violated and the measure at

fault. The introduction furnishes very suggestive views in regard to the great arguments of the work. The recognition of the nobleness apparent in the character of Lucretius, and the apology for his great error, drawn from the polytheism it was intended to abolish, we fully indorse. It is well shown how the poet's recognition of the supremacy of Law working out an intelligible cosmos, really involves a wise Omnipotence over all. This does not clear the poet of atheism, but merely shows how atheism must overreach itself. It might have been more fully shown that atheism, denying as it does our noblest intuitions, has no right to avail itself of any of our intuitions. Professing to deny every evidence but sense, it has no right, when its argument demands, to soar out of sense. It has no right to any axioms or any sense-transcending ideas. It has no right to use the words Eternal, Infinite, Space; no right to the axiom, *From nothing nothing always comes.* Not even can the conception of Law, much more Eternal Law, the atheistic substitute for God, come from sense.

Miscellaneous.

The Old Curiosity Shop. By CHARLES DICKENS. Illustrated by Thomas Worth. 8vo., pp. 233. Green and gilt. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

Little Folk for Life. By GAIL HAMILTON. 24mo., pp. 219. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1872.

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A beautiful portraiture in miniature, for the people, of the great Christian scientist.

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